

TRIBAL SETTLEMENT AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC INTEGRATION:  
A CASE STUDY OF THE BANNU LOWLANDS, PAKISTAN

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in the University of London

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ABSTRACT

Tribal Settlement and Socio-economic Integration:  
A Case Study of the Bannu Lowlands; Pakistan

In recent years tribes of the North-West Frontier region in Pakistan have adopted a more settled way of life. This has had a significant effect on the resource base and existing settlement patterns of the area, and on the Bannu Lowlands in particular.

This dissertation aims to analyse the pattern of land settlement in Bannu since the British period, and to examine the changing relationship between the growth of settlements and tribal distribution. The changing socio-economic problems associated with settlement are then considered.

This study examines three hypotheses. First, that settlement since the British period in the Bannu area has reflected pre-British patterns of tribal life and organisation, as found in the original tribal groups. Secondly, that contrasting response to economic opportunities presented by settlements reflect different tribal choices, such choices themselves having been influenced since the British period by both internal and external factors. Thirdly, that increasing commercialisation of the economy in recent years has begun to change the character of permanent settlement.

The Bannu Lowlands cover a total of over 4000 square kilometres, with nearly 400 settlements of tribal origin, comprising mainly Bannuchi, Marwat and Wazir - the south-western Pathan tribes

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER 1. Introduction	1
CHAPTER 2. The Physical Environment	15
CHAPTER 3. The Historical Context of Settlement in the Bannu Plains	33
CHAPTER 4. Agricultural Settlement Since the Mughals	69
CHAPTER 5. Irrigation	83
CHAPTER 6. Agricultural Settlement Since 1947	104
CHAPTER 7. Population	135
CHAPTER 8. Socio-economic Change and Tribal Choices in the Bannu Plains	156
CHAPTER 9. Conclusion	198
GLOSSARY	205
APPENDIX 1. Taxonomy of Pathan settlements in the Bannu lowlands	209
APPENDIX 2. Brief history of the construction of a separate channel for Mandev Area, Landidak Canal	211
APPENDIX 3. Questionnaire and responses	217
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 283



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure No.		Page
1	Location Plan	2
2	The North West Frontier Province: approximate Tribal distribution	6
3	Geology of the Bannu Plains	16
4	Sedimentary rocks around Bannu	18
5	Physiographic units, Bannu (Central)	20
6	Ground water availability and depth of water table Kurram Gambila Doab	25
7	Rock salt near Bannu	30
8	View of Bannu Plains from Baran Dam	30
9	Satellite image of Bannu Plains	31
10	Karlanri Tribal structure	35
11	Bitan Tribal structure	36
12	A Bannuchi malik	48
13	A Wazir malik	55
14	A Wazir settlement, Hindi Khel	58
15	A Bannuchi settlement, Hunjal	58
16	Wazir tribal Council in Hindi Khel	61
17	Transport of agricultural produce in Bannu Dt.	61
18	Bannu District, 1878	73
19	Kurram Tochi Doab, irrigation system	90
20	Marwat Canal System (western)	93
21	Kurram Garhi Project	94
22	Kurram Garhi headworks	96
23	Cash crops, turmeric and garlic	115
24	Processed turmeric	115
25	Garlic in Bannu market	117
26	Harvesting sugar cane	117
27	Bannu lowlands	132
28	Cultivated land damaged by waterlogging and salinity	132

Figure No.		Page
29	Population growth trends by tehsil 1901-2000	137
30	Bannu city	148
31	Typical 'naghan' oven	148
32	Rural industry in a Bannuchi village	168
33	Shinkandi Timber market	170
34	Bannu sugar mills Naurang Sarai	170
35	Jafar Khan Mosque	177
36	Chowk Bazaar- Bannu	177

LIST OF TABLES

Table No.		Page
1	Rainfall and discharge characteristics in Bannu	22
2	Salinity status	26
3	Roadside plantations	27
4	Forest nurseries in Bannu District and North Waziristan	28
5	Plants sold during the monsoon tree planting season 1979	29
6	Budget - Bannu Forest Division	29
7	Statement of settlement in Bannu	74
8	Early statistics of area in Bannu	74
9	Crop-wise area irrigated and releases from the Baran Dam	98
10	Total area irrigated 1978-79	100
11	Total area irrigated 1947-48 - 1972-73	101
12	Numbers of tube wells and tractors 1978-79	101
13	Land utilization statistics, Bannu Dt.	105
14	Average yield of food grains	108
15	Production of food grains	109
16	Area sown to food grains	110
17	Area sown to major cash crops	113
18	Production of major cash crops	114
19	Average yield of sugar cane	118
20	Area sown to fruits	118
21	Production of fruits	119
22	Number and area of farms	124
23	Number and area of individual and joint farms	126
24	Area and size of farms by tenure	127
25	Number and area of farms by size	127
26	Land reforms in Bannu District	130
27	Bannu District - agricultural sector	131
28	Population, area and density	136
29	Population variation by tehsil	139
30	Sex ratio by tehsil	141
31	Population density by sex	142
32	Population by tehsil 1972	143
33	Population density by tehsil 1951 - 1972	143

Table No.		Page
34	Population growth by tehsil 1961 - 1972	143
35	Urban and rural population 1951 - 1961	145
36	Bannu District population 1972	146
37	Rural population	146
38	Urban population	146
39	Bannu tehsil population	146
40	Lakki tehsil population	147
41	Lakki tehsil rural population	147
42	Bannu tehsil rural population	147
43	Bannu tehsil urban population	147
44	Bannu District urban population over 10 years	149
45	Lakki tehsil urban population age-sex structure	149
46	Bannu District total population over 10 years	150
47	Bannu District rural population over 10 years	150
48	Literate persons by sex, Bannu District	152
49	Literacy - urban areas 1961	153
50	Literacy - rural areas 1961	154
51	Literate persons over 10 years 1972	155
52	The survey villages	176

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speaking Pashto. Their Karlanri classification (for Bannuchi and Wazir) and the Bitan (for Marwats) suggest that they may possibly represent the oldest and purest strain of any of the hill tribes. Many aspects of these tribal peoples' traditional style of living including their settlement patterns, reflect an adjustment to the physical environment.

This thesis uses two main sets of data. On the one hand, extensive use has been made of historical records, early settlement accounts and British records for the pre-Independence period. Secondly, an intensive survey of Bannuchi, Marwat, Wazir and other villages in the Bannu Plains was carried out. The villages chosen for the case studies were selected for two main reasons. First, they were chosen to represent the major tribal groups in the Plains. Secondly, the availability of contacts was essential to carrying out the survey successfully. Data were collected through house to house surveys by use of questionnaires.

The hypotheses and the methods used to test their validity provide one insight into the phenomenon of tribal settlement and socio-economic integration in the study area.

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

### The Study Area

Bannu district lies in a basin bounded by the mountains and hills of Waziristan in the west, Kohat in the north and by the narrow ranges of hills in the south (on the boundary with the Gomal Plain) and the east (on the boundary with the Indus Plain). It is one of the Trans Indus District of the North West Frontier Province with an area of 4,000 square kilometres. Bannuchi, Marwat and Wazir are the main tribes with nearly 400 settlements.

Before the British annexation of the region in 1848, the Bannu lowlands had a sparse population. Since that time large numbers of traders and tribal settlers moved into and along the main river valleys taking advantage of most fertile and reliable alluvial land with good water supply and transport.

Prior to development of road networks, much tribal movement occurred on the Kurram and Tochi river valleys.

### Sequence of Settlements

The sequence of settlement in the Bannu Lowlands can be divided into five stages. In stage 1, the primary Bannuchi settlements were established on the dry sites on flood plains in the Bannu sub-division. The more flood prone areas of the Kurram were frequently cleared first because of high fertility. Once settlements were established the less fertile but more reliable land became the most valued as wheat land ie the Lakki Marwat sub-division of Bannu.

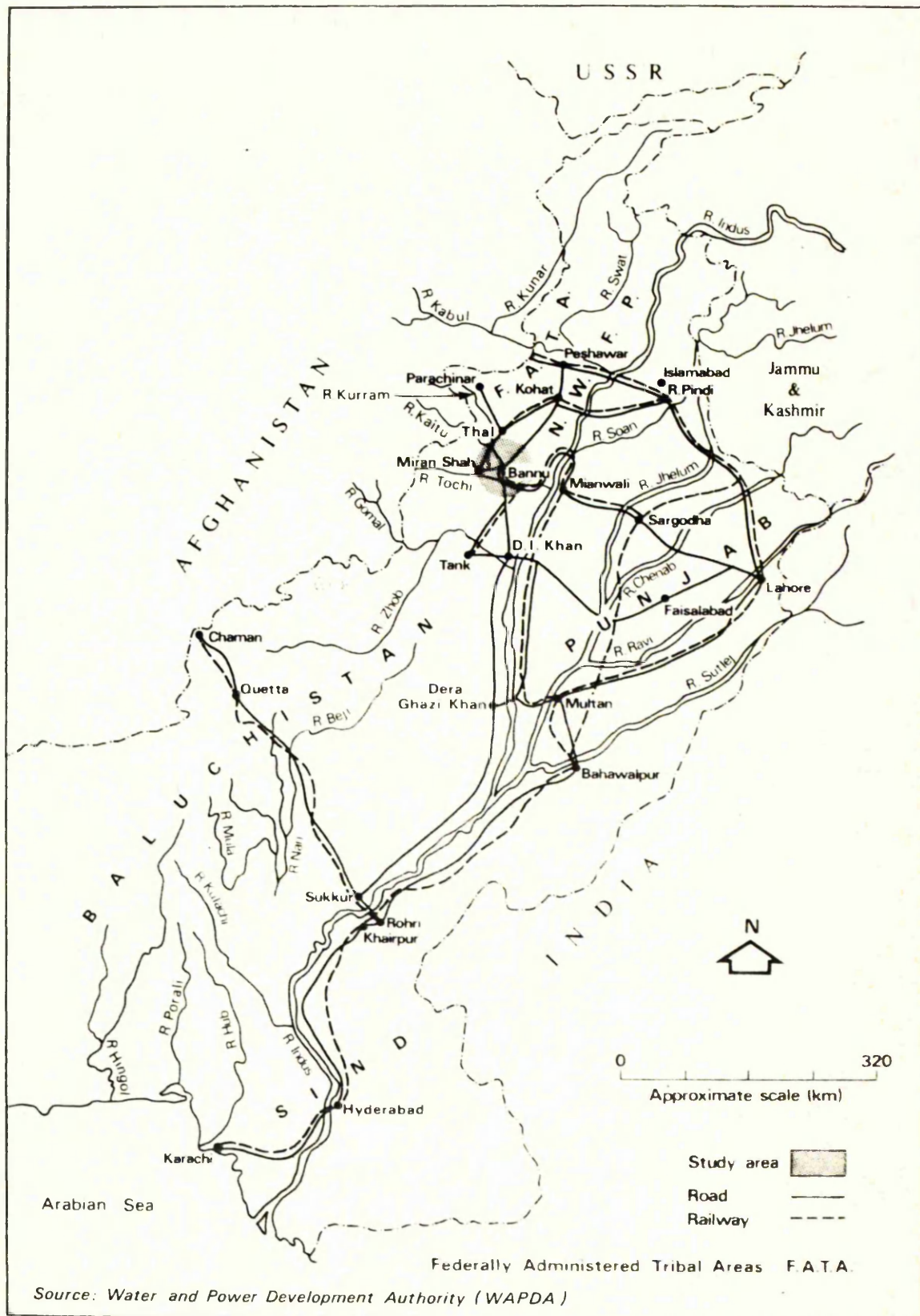


Figure 1 LOCATION PLAN



In the second stage, as the population grew, settlers moved out of the flood plain and onto the low terraces. There was much uncleared land in the Bannu plains important for grazing, fuel etc.

The third stage of settlement involved the utilisation of dry sites near the Tochi and Kurram rivers, mainly by the semi-nomad tribe, the Wazirs. The introduction of an irrigation network increased the area of cultivation of the higher land and the less fertile lower land, and later in parts of the upper terrace.

At western Waziri circle and on the eastern bank of the Kurram settlements were established in the fourth stage. These areas were not only less fertile, they were also more susceptible to environmental hazards, particularly drought.

In stage five settlements in an area of permanently cultivated upland along the river Kurram were established.

Irrigation has so far made a great impact on the settlements and agriculture of the region. There has been tendency for older villages to be more densely packed than more recent ones. Sites tend to be built up rather than expanded.

Villagers in more recently settled areas preserve links with villages of their origin. Not all new settlements were successful and there is evidence that some were abandoned. Problems of water supply, waterlogging and salinity, unreliability of yield, poor access to land, tribal feuds and remoteness seemed to be mainly responsible.

In this thesis three main hypotheses are examined:

- i. Settlements since the British period in Bannu have reflected pre-British patterns of tribal life and organisation as found in the original tribal groups.
- ii. Contrasting responses to economic opportunities presented by settlements reflect different tribal choices. Such choices have been influenced since the British period by both internal and external factors.
- iii. In recent years increasing commercialisation has begun to change the character of permanent settlement.

In view of these hypotheses, the chief aims of the thesis are:

- i. To analyse the pattern of land settlement in Bannu since the British period.
- ii. To analyse the changing relationships between settlement growth

and tribal distribution.

iii. To analyse socio-economic problems associated with land settlement.

(a) Absentee landlordism.

(b) Land alienation - its tribal implications.

(c) Employment, Marketing outside agriculture.

### Methodology

One of the most striking social characteristics of modern Bannu is the differential in the living standard of various tribes. This partly reflects the historical inheritance. However, it is also due to contrasting responses to economic opportunities presented by the tribal settlements. It would extend beyond the scope of this study to investigate the causes of the often small amount of economic progress in some areas of the Bannu Lowlands compared with the others. They are complex and in the individual cases determined by quite different factors. To examine the nature of settlement in different tribal groups demands detailed knowledge of the area and its situation.

The level of information relevant to economic and social problems in rural Bannu is very low and varies according to different tribes ie Bannuchi, Marwat and Wazir. For this reason it was decided to make a village based study a major element of the methodology.

The objective of tribe-representative village study is to furnish a contribution about an area where only very little secondary

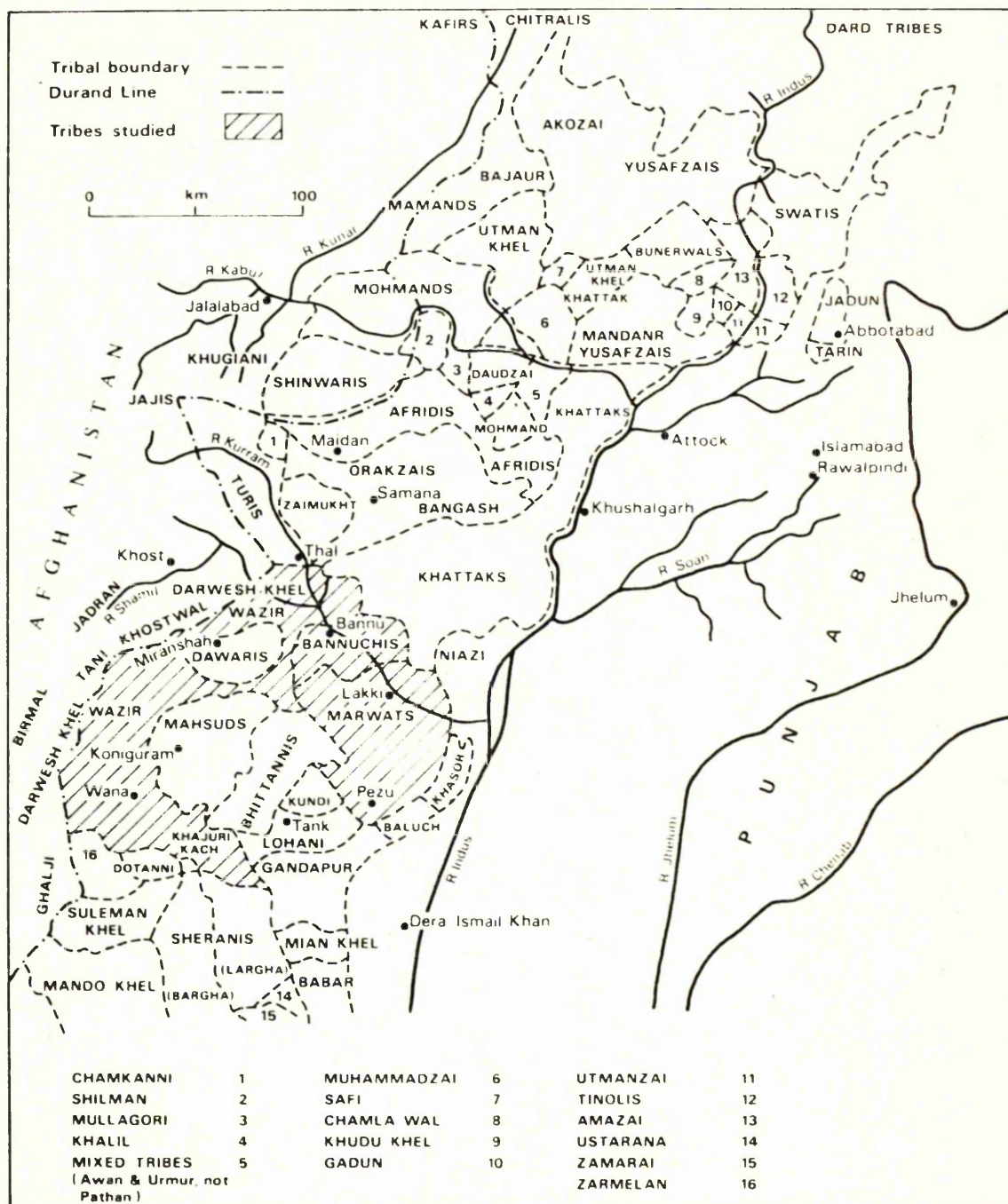


Figure 2. THE NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE. APPROXIMATE TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION

Source: Caroe O. *THE PATHANS*

material relating to general and socio-economic conditions is available and to try to test hypotheses relating to characteristics of settlement change in relation to tribal choices.

Although it is often very difficult to collect accurate data in the field I believed that it would be valuable to examine six villages in greater detail than is possible from the secondary information above.

A fundamental task of selection of different tribal villages in the Bannu plains was to analyse the process of fast familiarisation with sedentary agriculture and the formal economy among the three main tribes after independence in 1947. It was hoped to use this village level survey to study the impact of such integration in the modern economy on their settlements and the relatively less pronounced but fairly important effect on their relations with neighbouring tribes.

One of the bases of this village study was to look into the mechanism of migration which brought Waziri settlers to the lowlands. Originally it was through the British government's encouragement. In its modern form it is a phenomenon that can be described more easily in its results than in its operation.

The volume of movement, the tribal characteristics constituting it and the many features on which information would be required to give full analysis of all types of social, demographic and economic characteristics are far too wide ranging and complex for a single study. Even basic facts, such as the number of Wazirs living in and around the Bannu lowlands remain unknown.

### Nature of Field Work

There is very limited material available about the various characteristics of such vital questions as absentee landlordism, land alienation and its tribal implication, employment, marketing outside agriculture and many others.

The field study for this thesis fell into two parts. A questionnaire was used in six villages in an attempt to identify some of the major characteristics of settlement by different tribal groups. This survey was supplemented by extensive travelling in the region, interviewing tribal chiefs and Maliks and having discussions with local administrators and experts on tribal affairs. Although these discussions (which were tape recorded) did not provide statistical information, they did shed light on some of the most important forces at work in the Bannu lowlands.

Before the departure to the study area the investigation was prepared by studying the literature and relevant archives in London and Peshawar and by an official request to the Government of Pakistan for the permission to carry out the work. At the same time, the appropriate district authorities were informed. For example the local authorities were in a position to render material assistance, as for instance the occasional provision of a jeep. Most administrators are now local people and they themselves were often keen to support the research work on their area by giving access to records and supplying advice of all kinds. While the readiness to talk and give information was generally great, however,

the ability to supply information concerning the subject under consideration was extremely limited, with the result that descriptive data relating to the settlement, occupation and family status needed to be collected.

The selection of appropriate villages also posed considerable difficulties and required much time. Bannuchi villages in central Bannu, Marwat settlements of mixed residents and Waziri villages of Bannu FR (Frontier Region) illustrate different processes of development and provided the basis for the study of certain factors, such as differences in the quality of agricultural activity and in their natural productive capacity, small scale rural industry and school education.

The basic criterion for the selection of villages was their tribal composition and it was hoped to find villages representing each of the main tribal groups. Difficulties in this search were aggravated by the fact that it was very difficult to make villagers understand the purpose of the study.

Travel for selecting tribal villages took up to six days for each village. Lastly finding villages that illustrated the most important general features of settlement change in the Bannu lowlands was to a certain degree, a matter of chance and constituted a compromise between what was desirable in theory and what was possible in practice. For example in the Waziri selected village all residents only illustrate the presence of one branch of this well defined tribe. Another example is that the practical problem of conducting the survey on my own dictated that the villages

were to be as small as possible. There were also practical problems of carrying out the survey.

The case study villages of all three tribes ie Bannuchi, Marwat, and Wazir had provided generous facilities and traditional Pathan hospitality. In many ways this was time consuming, but it also meant that with respect to the very limited range of questions asked, the answers were trustworthy. Introduction to the villagers was made by the tribal chiefs and Maliks as without their authority it would have been impossible to conduct the survey at all.

#### Problems of the Field Survey

Since the villages were not selected according to statistical sampling, the case studies cannot claim to be statistically representative. First of all they do not represent all sections and subsections of Bannuchi, Marwat and Wazir tribes. Nevertheless they do reflect conditions which are frequently encountered in the Bannu lowlands and neighbouring North Waziristan Agency.

Investigations which are confined to small areas can provide one insight in the tribal settlements. In addition to the problem outlined above, difficulties in the formal inquiry arose due to a lack of factual information and a limited power of recollection. Both these shortcomings were difficult to overcome, sometimes only with the help of more alert villagers.



Further handicaps were the difficulties many villagers had in expressing themselves, particularly if opinions and feelings had to be transmitted. Some of these questions had to be illustrated to a great number of respondents by concerted explanations. Several respondents were not willing to give their name during interviews, even of short duration. Although it was time consuming, frequent deviations from the topic were permitted, which sometimes provided useful information.

#### Data Set Limitation

The survey was conducted in terms of households, the persons living together and having a kitchen in common being considered a household. If several households commonly managed one agricultural holding, the details were taken together. The answers for each household were marked on a form. The questionnaire only comprised questions about facts, as opinions and modes of behaviour could hardly be ascertained with necessary exactness in this way.

There is no doubt that the preciseness of the data obtained did not come to the level hoped for, but there is strong likelihood that the information thus collected in Bannu lowlands is more exact than that derived from many government surveys.

In view of all the limitations imposed both by the resources available to one and by the nature of the problem of settlement in Bannu, it was quite impossible to carry out the kind of village survey suggested by source text on rural survey (Allan 197/)

*[To no reference?]*

### The Traditional Characteristics of Tribal Villages

The village as a social unit is of major importance in the North West Frontier territory. Its physical structure emerges from family structure which is tight and most rigid. In fact each tribal family housing unit is itself called a 'village'. Here each has its own high mud or stone walls, surrounded by further mud walls in defensive encirclement against encroachment from outside. Especially in Waziri settlements each has its own individual watch tower where a father and his sons may stand defence sometimes for months on end against an outside enemy. This state of affairs is characteristically somewhat looser in Bannuchi and Marwat villages where family and all other structures have become correspondingly a little more relaxed, though in former times their settlements too were like fortresses, called 'Tuppahs'.

In tribal village houses within the encircling walls, one enters a courtyard through a brief walled maze. The family house which is on one side, is compact, of one or two stories, each about ten feet high and as the family grows the house grows too. In each village there is a 'chauk' and a 'Hujra', the guest house, apart from the housing units where all hospitality is rendered. Where 'hujrah' do not exist, the visitor is generally accommodated in the village mosque. In all villages the code of Pakhtunwali (Pathan code of Honour), for example with its three primary principles, hospitality (Maimastia), protection (Nanawatah) and Retaliation (Badal), all function within this framework. For the intrinsic meanings of this code the fundament of the customary tribal law (Riwaj), setting forth conduct expected of individual

members and penalties and guiding the tribal counsel (Jirga) now becomes manifest.

In traditional Pathan villages social issues are discussed and problems resolved in tribal councils, where tribal leaders sit with each other on the Jirga - in a circle itself symbolically egalitarian.

The relationship between Maliks, Zamindars or landowners and the dependents (Hamsayas's) is only of an economic and not of an administrative nature, for the Hamsayas do not pay any land revenues. The Pashto language recognises the qualitative emotional relationship of these villages where the family as a value is considered to have so primary and singular an emphasis. The word for cousin and enemy are both 'tarbur'. This symbolises the interpersonal relationship that exists in the tribal settlements of the study area. It is true that all participants in village life such as landowners, agricultural labourers, and dependents are engaged in agricultural production like a team, but the rights are distributed according to status. A limit is sometimes set by custom, which clearly determines the rights. At present this system is being challenged. Hamsayas and Mushaqatis appear willing to accept the position of dependency as soon as better living conditions present themselves within their reach in the villages in the study area. These improved living conditions must not necessarily consist of better payment per unit of labour alone but may also result from remittances from the other parts of the country and abroad.

## Summary

The Bannu region has been characterised by the extension of settlement by tribal groups since British annexation in 1848.

The location and nature of early settlements reflected both the characteristics of the tribal groups who became settlers and the varied nature of the environment, in particular with respect to the availability of water for irrigation.

In order to understand recent developments in settlement patterns it has been found necessary to study the traditional characteristics of tribal villages in the Bannu Lowlands and to determine the nature, the structure and function of the tribal society. This involves understanding rural political life and tribal leadership.

A systematic study of family and its structural and functional aspects in tribal society also has vital significance. Changes in the structure and functions of these unique social institutions of tribal society can only be understood through such a study.

It is possible to identify five stages of settlement during the modern period. It is the processes by which sedentary agriculture became the dominant way of life and the manner of adjustment by the major tribal groups to such an economic transformation that form one of the main subjects of this dissertation.

## CHAPTER 2. THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

### Introduction

The topography as well as the climate of the region provides an austere environment for the inhabitants. The tribal people's response to environmental conditions is quite direct. The influence of the physical environment on them is, therefore, quite apparent in every walk of life including the mode of their settlement patterns. Climate, soil, vegetation and animal resources of Bannu plains and adjoining Waziristan largely govern the material culture of the people occupying the lowlands. Food and other primary needs of the people are invariably supplied by resources which are easily available in the surroundings. Fertility of soil, availability of edible plants and animals, abundance of materials to be used in buildings, procurability of man's services in agriculture are some of the fundamental considerations that encouraged various tribes to settle in the Bannu plains. This ecological factor is the governing aspect of the tribal settlements.

### Geology of the Bannu Plain NWFP

The Bannu plain is a distinct geomorphological unit with a surface area of approximately 5,000 km<sup>2</sup> that is almost completely surrounded by folded and faulted plio-pleistocene rocks of the Siwalik Series, and is bounded to the west by a north-south wrench fault. This represents a northward continuation of the Baluchistan Arc and Kirthar-Sulaiman shearbelt (Abdel-Gawad, 1971).

Although the Bannu plain is dominated by the Siwalik

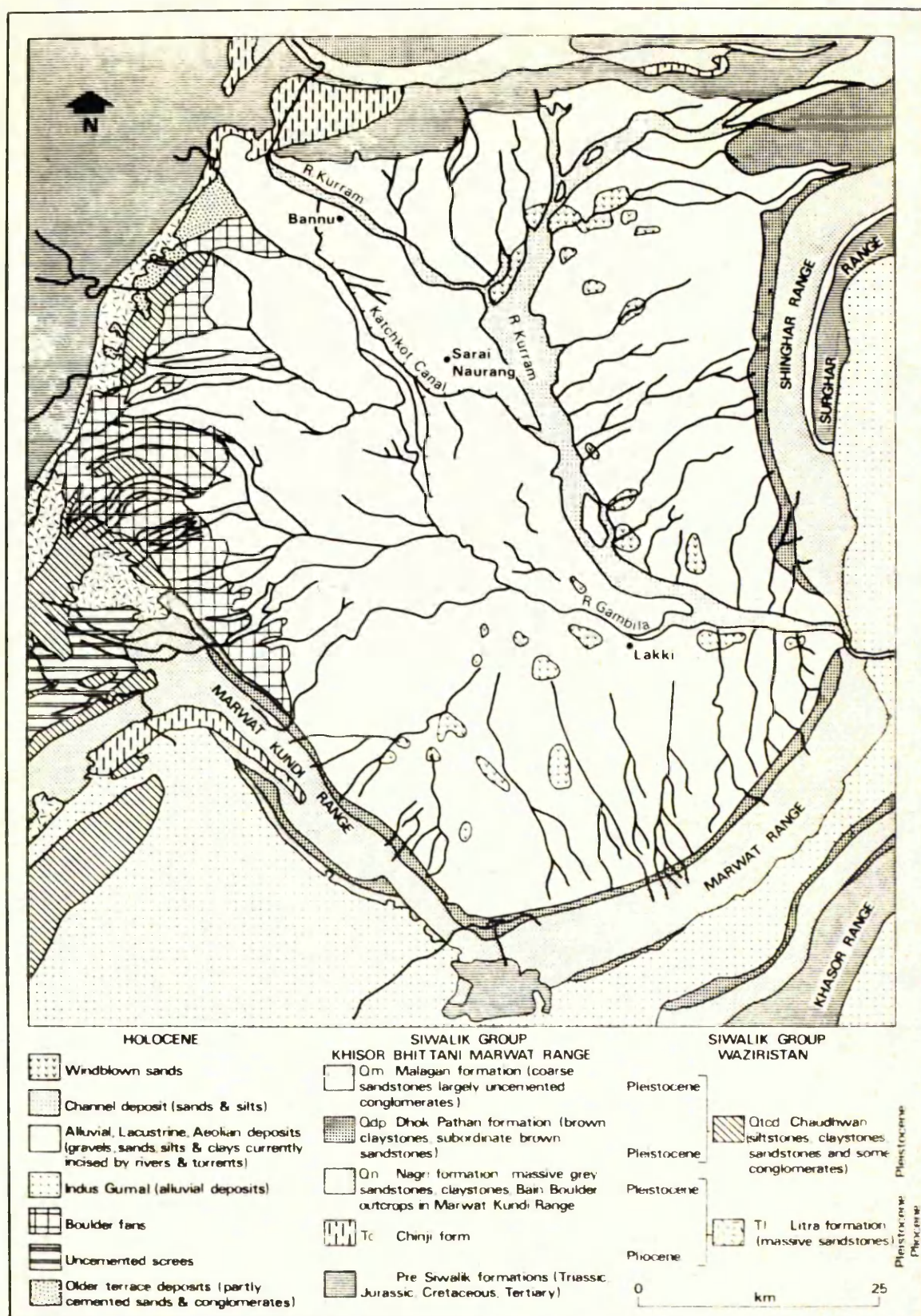


Figure 3 GEOLOGY OF BANNU PLAINS, N.W.F.P.

Source: Rendell H.M.

Series, Older Triassic, Surraic and Cretaceous rocks outcrop in the Khasor and Surghar ranges in Waziristan, and in the massive form of Shaikh Badin.

The formation of the Bannu plain as a distinct unit dates from the start of the deformation and uplift of the Siwalik Series. Recent work by Keller et al (1977) has dated the start of uplift in the Pabbi Hills Siwalik Series to 500,000 BP and given the broad stratigraphic and structural similarities, a similar date for the start of the uplift of the Bannu Siwaliks is not unlikely.

The Siwalik Series is a fluvial molasse complex of clays, silts, sands and gravels. The total sequence ranges in thickness from 2,180 m to 3,270 m in the Bannu area (Hemphill et al, 1973; Meissner et al, 1974, 1975), and represents a period of continuous deposition from the late Pliocene until the late Pleistocene.

The rocks of the Marwat-Kundi range include the Bain Boulder Bed which outcrops as a distinct horizon between Bain Pass and Pezu, and which has been variously interpreted as a glacial till (Morris, 1938), a mud flow or fanglomerate (Gansser, 1964), and a volcanic mud flow (Hemphill and Kidwai, 1973). Keller et al estimate that the Upper Siwalik Series of the Pabbi Hills was deposited over a period of about two million years.

The deformation and uplift of the Siwalik Series is related to the northward movement of the Indian Plate relative to the Afghan/Waziristan Area (Abdel Gawad, 1971; Bordet, 1978).

? Ref.?





Fig. 4 Sedimentary Rocks Around Bannu in NWFP





The tilting of the basal beds of the post Siwalik Bannu plains alluvium to angles of  $5^{\circ}$ - $8^{\circ}$  (Morris, 1938) suggests that the uplift continued in to early Holocene.

The Bannu plains form a large dish that has gradually been filled with sediments during the Holocene. Morris (1938) estimates that the thickness of post Siwalik sediments in the centre of the basin exceeds 900 m and notes that 125 m of sands and silts, but no gravels, were proved near lakki. Cap 7

The Kurram and Tochi (Gambila) rivers drain in to the basin from the north and west respectively, while the dissected Siwalik Series are traversed by a series of hill torrents. The total catchment area of the basin is approximately  $15,000 \text{ km}^2$  and the basin sediments are, therefore, derived locally from the largely uncemented Siwaliks or from the upper catchments of the Kurram, Tochi, Baran, Khaisora, Shaktu and Kashu Algad rivers and torrents. Currently with the exception of the Kurram and Tochi (Gambila) river, all the torrents are ephemeral, transmitting flow only after heavy rain or, in some cases, snow melts (Rendell, 1978).

Several different types of deposit may be recognised within the basin. Fragments of older terrace have been recognised along the western edge of the basin (Hemphill and Kidwai, 1973). A series of low angle boulder fans ( $2^{\circ}$ - $3^{\circ}$ ) and gravel spread mark the mouths of the Khaisora and Shaktu torrents, but much of the basin area is covered by alluvial sands and silts with some wind blown sands.

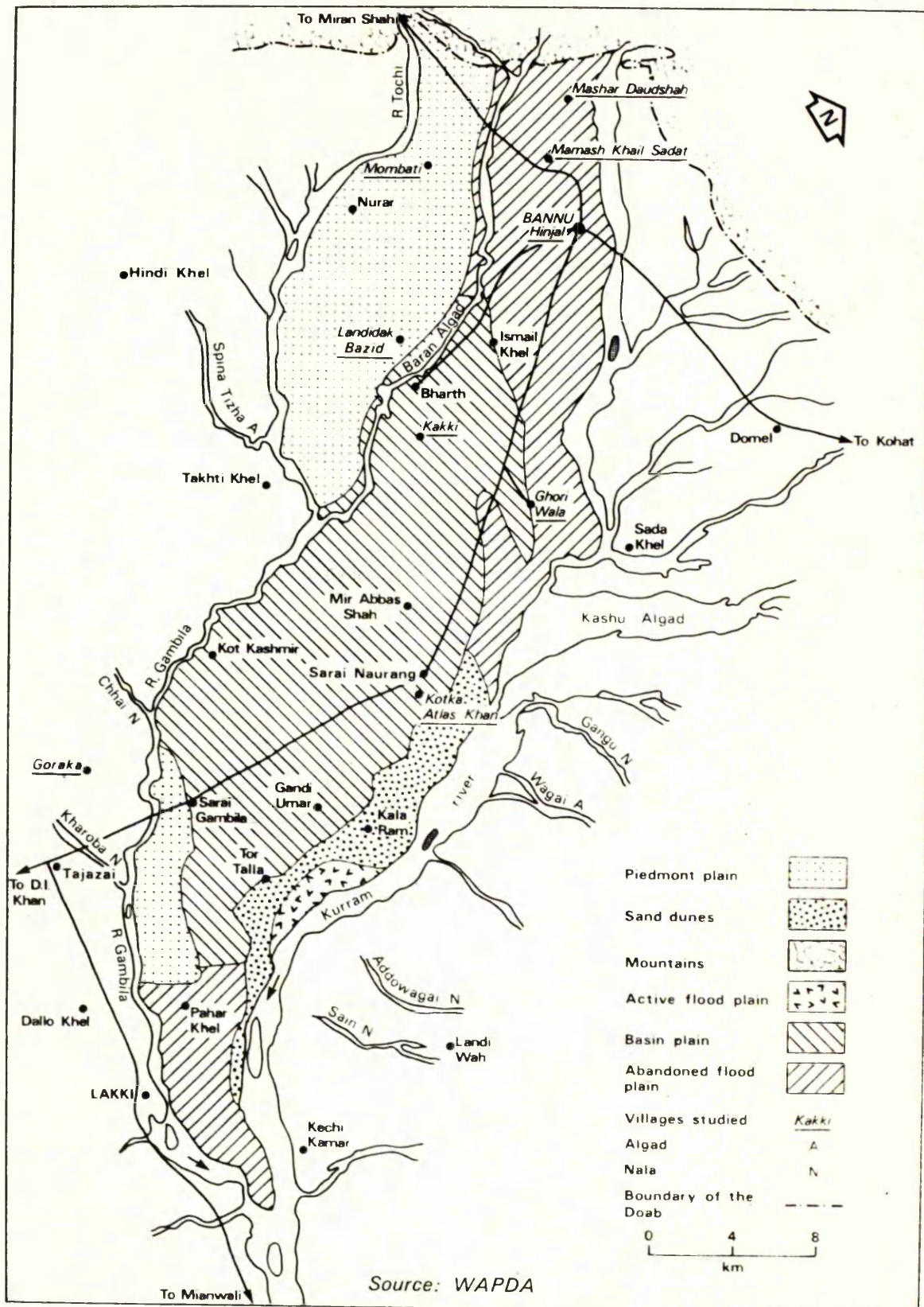


Figure 5 PHYSIOGRAPHIC UNITS, BANNU (CENTRAL)

One interesting point is the absence of alluvial fans within the basin in contrast to the well developed sequence of fans in the adjacent Gomai plain. Recent incisions has revealed a good series of section of the uppermost 20 m of basin sediments. The Bannu Basin drainage system is linked to the Indus by a narrow breach in the Siwalik between the Marwat and Shinghar ranges. Changes in the nature of the junction with the Indus during the Holocene will have had profound implications for the sedimentary processes within the basin (Helen, 1978).

#### Climate

The climate of the Bannu plains is semi arid with little or no rainfall in the period from October to February but with occasional periods of heavy rainfall in the summer months. The rainfall distribution is highly variable. For much of the year ground water in the eastern and southern parts of the basin is either at a level below that of the wells or too brackish for drinking purposes.

The interfluvial area between the Kurram, Baran and Tochi/Gambila rivers is intensively irrigated. Both Kurram and Baran are now dammed, and the water is used to feed irrigation systems.

#### Soils of the Bannu Lowlands

The soils over a majority of the area have been formed in alluvium and to the minor extent deposited through wind action. The alluvium has been derived from sedimentary rocks laid by streams emanating from the surrounding mountain ranges. These

TABLE 1

## The BANNU Lowlands Rainfall &amp; Discharge Characteristics

## a) Rainfall in mm-Seasonal breakdown, 30 years of records

BANNU	MEAN	MAX	MIN
April-June	68.8	195.5	3.81
July-September	141.5	307.3	45.7
October-December	17.3	132.0	0.0
January-March	82.0	195.6	5.8
LAKKI			
April-June	68.1	190.5	3.5
July-September	177.3	485.9	39.9
October-December	16.5	185.4	0.0
January-March	74.1	167.6	2.5

## b) Discharge-Annual figures for Kurram and Tochi/Gambila

KURRAM	YEAR	WATER YIELD (CUSECS). Observed Sedit. Conc. (ppm)			
(THAL)		MAX	MIN	MAX	MIN
	1968	180	11	8,270	16
	1969	971	7	69,100	11
	1970	1,093	5	13,200	29
	1971	1,061	4	67,200	20
	1972	860	7	61,800	12
TOCHI/ GAMBILA (TANGI POST)	1962	99	0.3	29,600	18
	1963	523	0.05	24,700	4
	1964	906	0.22	39,500	30
	1965	224	0.27	29,300	5
	1966	117	0.24	17,900	16
	1968	30	0.26	3,630	7

deposits are calcareous and exhibit varied shades of brown and grey colour. The wind deposited soils of the Bannu plain reflect generally grey or greyish brown and show no evidence of developed profile characteristics. Texturally, these range from coarse to fine with moderately fine textures in dominance. These are generally permeable, well retentive of moisture and plant nutrients, but contain low organic matter which results in retarded biotic activity. The soils of the flood plain and sand plain are recent to sub recent by age while those of others belong to the pleistocene era. Soil salinity exists in Kurram Gambila doab. The soil survey conducted by the Monitoring and Review Division of the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) in the doab over an area of 120,164 acres shows that non to slightly saline soils extend over 84 per cent of the surveyed area. Mostly the salts present in the surveyed area are sulphates and chlorides of sodium, calcium and magnesium which are all neutral in reaction. Sulphates are generally more than chlorides, bicarbonates are present invariably but carbonates are found when PH value exceeds 8.5.

WAPDA classification of 45 surface samples, collected from the surveyed area shows that 62 per cent surface soils are non saline non alkaline, 11 per cent are saline, while the remaining are saline alkali soils. The value of hydraulic conductivity, dry bulk density, infiltration rates and soil moisture contents results show that the normal soils of the Bannu area are sufficiently porous and capable of allowing water to percolate through, to maintain salt balance and meet the plant requirements. In addition the soils are found to be generally

well retentive of moisture, well drained and their proper management for removal of soil salinity in the profile will be conveniently possible.

The Kurram - Gambila Doab of the Bannu Lowlands is faced with the grave menace of waterlogging and salinity. It is now posing a serious threat to the very foundation of the area's economy, which is primarily founded on agriculture. Kurram Gambila Doab provides a typical example of a river valley where the natural balance between inflow and outflow sub-surface is disturbed by the introduction of irrigated agriculture. In the absence of adequate drainage, the additional burden remains in sub-surface storage, steadily raising the zone of saturation to the surface whereby the plant's growth is adversely affected. In addition the choice and selection of crop became extremely limited. The depth of water contours taken in the doab show that in 59,300 acres the water table lies within a depth of 10 feet of the ground, out of which in 7,880 acres it is in the region of 0-5 feet. This rise of water table is a constraint in the productive use of the affected land because even adequate application of other inputs become uneconomical for use under such conditions of land where its basic productive capacity is impaired.

Soils in the arid zones generally contain some salts in the soil profile. Irrigated agriculture can disturb the natural salt distribution in a manner as to drain salts from the lower strata to the root zone and then to the surface. Since that natural balance is lacking in arid zones, which can wash down the salts from the upper layers, the obvious result is increasing



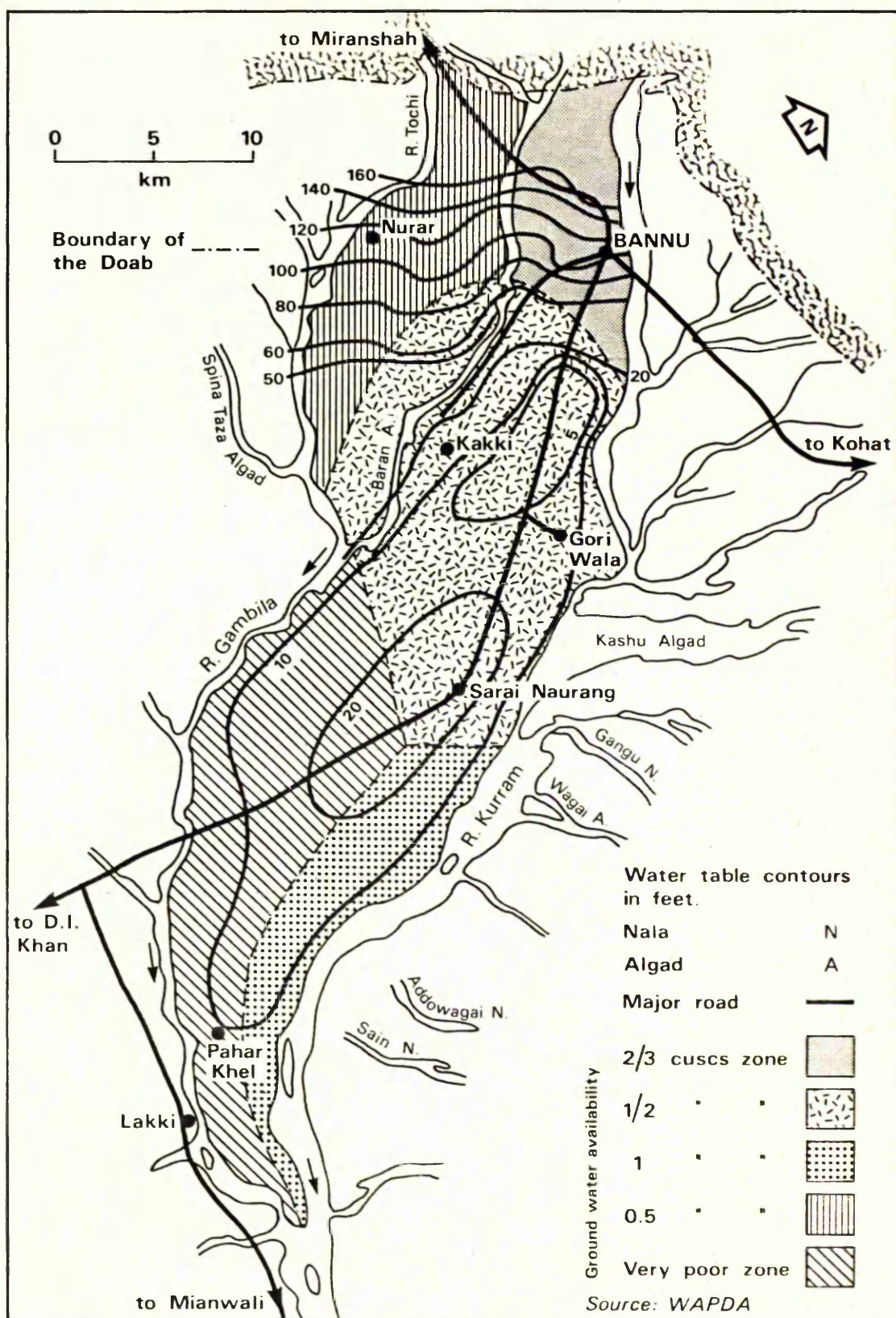


Figure 6 GROUND WATER AVAILABILITY, AND DEPTH TO WATER TABLE (1975), KURRAM GAMBILA DOAB.

salinity of the upper strata of the soil. Salinity status for 120,164 acres of the Kurram-Gambila Doab has been investigated by WAPDA with the following results.

Table 2. Salinity Status

S. No	Salinity Class	Soluble Salt Contents (%)	Percentage of the Area
1	non saline	less than 0.22	75
2	slightly saline	0.22 - 0.50	9
3	moderately saline	0.50 - 1.00	2
4	strongly saline	more than 1	8
5	unclassified		6
			<hr/> 100 <hr/>

Survey Area 120,164 Acres  
Location Kurram Gambila Doab Bannu NWFP

#### Forest Resources of Bannu Lowlands

Bannu is the smallest forest division of the North West Frontier forest department and comprises of the following three ranges:

1. Bannu range with headquarter at Bannu
2. Lakki range with headquarter at Lakki
3. North Wazirstan federally administered tribal area range with headquarter at Miranshah.

Bannu is not rich in forest resources because of the low rainfall and other climatic reasons. There are no government reserved forests. However, on the transfer of canal and roadsides to the forest department, sizeable plantations have been raised



under the developmental schemes as shown below:

i) Canal Side: The total length of Kurram Garhi Canal System is about 182 miles. Out of it about 14 miles are estimated to be unculturable due to torrent bed, pucca construction of aqueducts and local paths. Hence plantable strips are only 168 miles. So far 114 miles have been planted with suitable species like Shisham (Dalbergia Sissoo), Kikar (Acacia Arabica), Siris and Farash (Tamarix Articulata) at a total cost of Rs 18.86 millions. The spade work for the preparation of working plan for the management and development of land along Kurram Garhi Canal System has also been done, so as to bring the plantation under scientific management.

ii) Road Side: Linear plantations of 131 miles along various roads have been planted up with Kikar, Frash, Parkinsonia and Shisham etc at the total cost of Rs 0.5827 million (1978-79). The detail of roadside plantations are as below:

Table 3 Roadside plantations

<u>Name of Road</u>	<u>Length planted (Avenue Miles)</u>
1. Bannu-Kohat	22
2. Bannu-D I Khan	73
3. Bannu-Miransheh	4
4. Tajazai-Lakki	13
5. Lakki-Dara Tang	16
6. Ghazni Khel-Bain	3
Total	131 AM

At present protection/maintenance of both road and canal sides plantations are being done out of the normal budget. A sum of Rs 256,500 are spent for raising more plantations and the maintenance of existing roadside plantations in the area.

## Revenue

The major activities of Bannu forest division is the realisation of duty of timber and other forest produce which is brought to the settled areas from the North Waziristan agency. In 1978 total collection of revenue was Rs 3,456,629 against the target of Rs 3,103,700. Out of this Rs 3,171,427 were realised as duty. This duty is realised on various checkpoints which have been established at the following places:

1. Miranshah Road
2. Mirian Road
3. Tajazai

There is no regular exploitation in Bannu forest division. In order to remove dead, dry and over-mature trees Rs 25,000 has been allocated by the forest department. Since 1977-78 a developmental scheme for North Waziristan has been under implementation at the total cost of Rs 3.691 millions.

Table 4  
Forest Nurseries in Bannu District and North Waziristan

S. No	Name of nurseries	Area	Total plants available	Plants fit for distribution/use during spring tree plantation week 1980
1	Bannu	20½ kanals	202,480	120,032
2.	Naurang	7 "	69,000	69,000
3.	Mirali	16 "	107,081	80,000
4.	Miranshah	16 "	66,883	50,000
5.	Razmak	8 "	12,900	12,900
Total		67½ kanals	458,344	331,932

Source: Office of the DFO Bannu

Table 5  
Plants Sold During Monsoon Tree Planting Season (1979) in  
Bannu/North Waziristan

Name of Nursery	Army	Other Organisation	Used by Forest Dept	Public	Total
Bannu	12,115	2330	4,150	455	19,050
North Waziristan	15,000	250	17,940	-	33,190

Source: DFO Office Bannu

Table 6  
Budget Bannu Forest Division

Major Head	Allotment	Expenditure up to November 1979
1) X Forests	2,869,915	1,046,523
2) 10-Forests	317,300	202,525
3) 34-Frontier Region	32,690	10,420
4) 63-A-Dev/Fata	410,000	176,824

Source: DFO Office Bannu



Fig 7 Rock Salt near Bannu



Fig 8 View of Bannu Plains from Baran Dam





Fig 9 Landsat Satellite Image of Bannu - Band 5 - 30 May 1976

## Summary

It was suggested in Chapter 1 that early settlement was influenced to a significant degree by some aspects of the physical environment. The geological structure and soils have played a part in influencing not only the broad physical characteristics of the Bannu Lowlands but also the detailed suitability of the sub-regions for agricultural settlement.

This can be seen clearly for example in the findings presented in this chapter which have shown the different degree to which various parts of the Bannu Lowlands are subject to the problems of salinity and waterlogging and the extent to which this has influenced their agricultural activity.

Natural resources, notably of timber, have long played an important part in the economy of some of the tribal groups, especially the Waziris, but such resources are now almost non-existent within the Lowlands themselves. Despite this fact, while some tribal groups continue to draw heavily on resources from outside the immediate region to sustain their way of life within it, others have had to adjust to changing agricultural conditions and economic conditions within the Bannu plains.

These adjustments have to be seen in the context of the historical development of settlement, the subject of the next chapter.

### CHAPTER 3. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SETTLEMENT IN THE BANNU PLAINS

#### Introduction

While the environmental context plays an important part in understanding the pattern of modern tribal settlement, it is also important to understand the historical context of tribal settlement since Independence.

As this chapter shows, the historical processes of settlement have themselves been complex. In the past when inter-tribal feuds and raids were more frequent, many villages were located on well-fortified positions, or in places which had natural defences, like a hilltop or a bend in a river or slope of a steep cliff. All these were then regarded as ideal secure sites for villages. This was an important factor in the selection of not only village sites but for the habitation of these tribal people at the time of historical disturbances in the middle ages.

The ethno-linguistic line separating the hill tribes from the Indo-Aryans of the lowlands corresponds roughly to the geographical border between the plain and the lowest fringes of the escarpment. The primary direction of the tribal flow has been from west to east, but periodically in the past there may have been an opposite trend which stopped with the establishment of the Durand line. Internal differences in social structure among people of the hills and the variety given by centuries of symbiosis between the border tribes and the people of the plains (differences which may exist

even when the people speak the same language) provide a number of clues to the processes of migration that must have taken place in the past. In Pakistan today the entire frontier region is peopled by tribal populations of two radically different types. One is based on kinship, which recognizes male ancestors and is subdivided into filial lines of descent; the other is stratified on the basis of ranked subordination and structured towards military ends. Probably the northern Pathans are more definitely kin organized, while Pathans of the south are structured more along military lines and are mixed sedentary, nomadic and migratory. There appears to be a high correlation between terrain, natural resources, migration routes and internal social structure.

#### The main tribal groups of the Bannu Lowlands

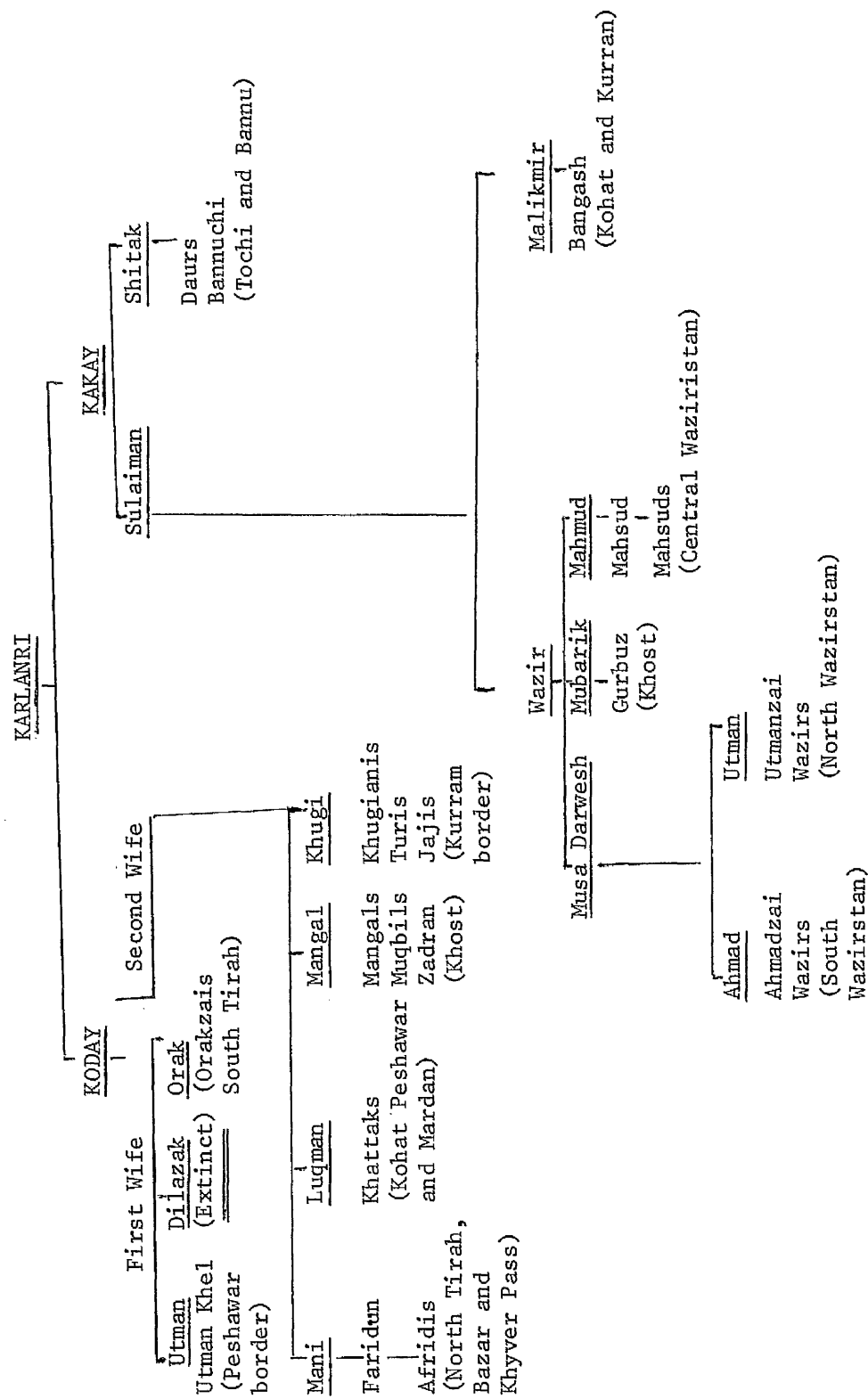
##### The origin of the Pathan tribe

The name 'Pathans' is said to be a corruption or mispronunciation of the name 'Pakhtuns', but it is by the former name they are better known. 'Pathan' also means 'rudder' or 'pilot', suggesting a different derivation, as shown below.

There is now a combined population of perhaps up to twenty million 'Pathans' (estimates vary), consisting of both tribesmen and tribal derivatives. Tribesmen live in their own territory which extends between the borders of Pakistan and Afghanistan and south of the border of the Soviet Union. This territory extends from the Hindu Kush range in the north to the Arabian sea coast of Baluchistan in the south. Tribal Pathans - Afridi, Bhattanis,

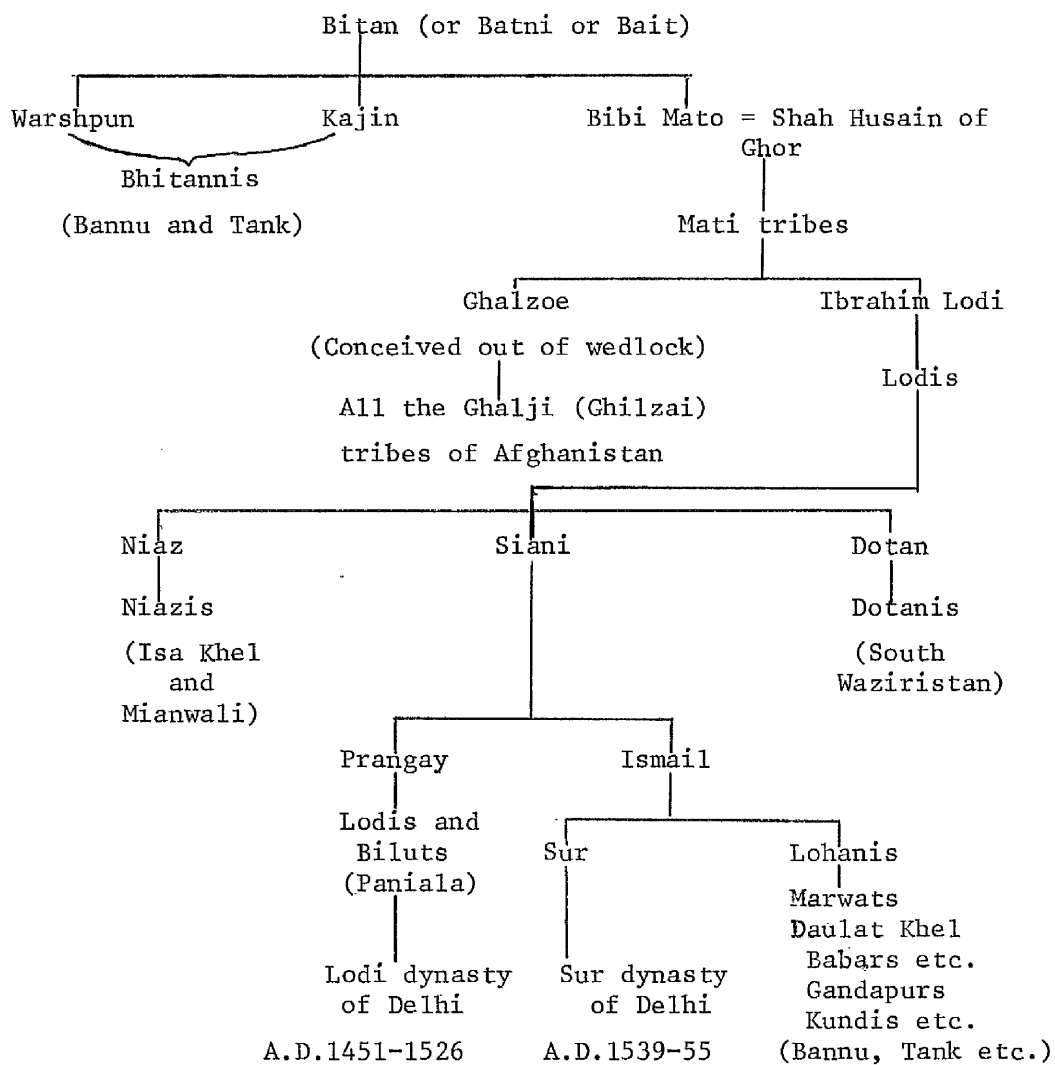


Figure 10 Karlanri Tribal Structure



Source: The Pathans, Caroe, 1958.

Figure 11 Bitan Tribal Structure



Source: The Pathans by Olaf Caroe, 1958

Ghilzais, Mohmands, Orakzais, Daur, Mahsuds, Wazirs, and many more, are roughly grouped under two, 'Afghans', if they live nearer Afghanistan, and 'Pathans', if they live nearer Pakistan, but both groups are often referred to as 'Pathans'. Pathan derivatives live both in Afghanistan proper and in Pakistan's 'frontier' or settled regions. A large number of Pathans are Pakistanis, in what is called the 'North West Frontier Province'. Through genealogy, culture and language, the Pathans and Pathan derivatives, however, remotely and theoretically, are all related.

It is possible that Herodotus was referring to the forbears of modern Pathans when he wrote that the "Pactyan nation, consisting of the Aparytae, the Satragydae, the Dadica and Gandhari," of whom the Pathans proper are the modern representatives, was then in existence. The Aparytae (or Afridis) held the country of Safed Koh, Satragydae (or Khattaks), the Sulaiman range and the northern portions of the plain between it and the Indus, the Dadicas (or Dadic) modern Seistan, and the country between the Kandahar province and the Sulaiman range, and the Gandhari occupied the Peshawar valley north of the Kabul river and the hills circling it to the north" (Ridgway 1910), and "for those parts of India through which he penetrated with his army were destitute of Gold, and their Diet was no ways delicate. But the inhabitants were strong built, large limbed and taller in stature than are the rest of the Asiaticks many of them being little less than five cubits high. Their complexion is more swarthy than any yet known, except the Ethiopian, and their skill in military affairs far surpasses all the Inhabitants of

Asia besides. Even those warlike Persians, by whose valour Cyrus, the son of Cambysses, deprived the Medes of the Empire of Asia and brought many nations under subjection, partly by force and partly by voluntary surrender, are by no means to be compared with those Indians" (Arrianus, F., 326 BC). Also, "And there are other tribes, differing from one another in stature, shape and courage: the differences are those I formerly mentioned and now will explain more clearly: such as inhabit a country which is mountainous, rugged, elevated, and where the changes of seasons are very great are to be naturally of an enterprising and warlike disposition; and such persons are apt to have no little of the savage and ferocious in their nature. When the country is bare not fenced, and rugged, blasted by the winter and scorched by the sun, there you may see the men hardy, slender, with well shaped joints, well braced and shaggy; sharp vigilance accompanies such a constitution; in morals and passions they are haughty opinionative, inclining to the fierce rather than to mild; and you will find them acute and ingenious as regards the arts, and excelling in military affairs; and likewise all the other productions of the earth corresponding to itself" (Hippocrates).

An interesting additional historical insight is that Kais, who was the original 'Pathan', meaning 'rudder' or 'pilot', by similar legend, traces his ancestry to Afghans (in the 37th lineal descent), son of Jeremiah, son of Saul (Talut) who was King Solomon's commander-in-chief, and builder of his temple in BC 1005. Later

Saul became King (Malik) of Israel. Another of the derivation stories is that 'Pathan' is a corruption of the word 'Fattchan' or victorious, a title bestowed on the people by Muhammad for their valour. Thus the ancient Pactyan nation of Herodotus and the Afghans of Ghor, are said to have acquired the same name.

About 622 AD, when Muhammad proclaimed himself the Prophet of God, a chief of his own Arabian tribe Quresh, one Khalid bin Walid, was sent by him as an apostle of the new religion to the Afghans of Ghor, who until then professed the Magian religion. The Afghans embraced the new faith, converted to it by the small body of their own tribe, who had gone to Arabia under the leadership of Kias. After conversion, Kais became known as Abdul Rashid, who, according to genealogical legend, was father of the three sons from whom sprang the Afghan, Pathan and Ghilzai tribal branches,

#### Pathan Family Structure

Among the Pathan people, the 'joint' or 'extended' family unit may be seen in singularly pure form, a perfectly delineated example of the patriarchal type, patrilocal and patrilineal, where, under the roof of the 'nuclear' father, three or more generations of sons, in particular, are born, raised and may even die. Taking the original father as the point of departure, the family group consists of his wife and sons, married and unmarried, and daughters unmarried, and if he still lives, as great-grandfather, his grandsons' sons, married and unmarried, and daughters unmarried. All of these people,

sometimes 50, sometimes many more, live within the physical walls of a single compound, functioning to all external intents and purposes, socially, economically, politically, etc., as one unit. Within the familial compound, the authority in the group is in the hands of the patriarch, absolutely and finally. He has no lieutenants; he delegates no responsibility. All decisions are unequivocally in his hands. All members look alike to him for reward and punishment, judgment and justice.

There is no property belonging to individual members, as such, within the family unit. Each of the immediate sons of the 'nuclear' or patriarchal father owns nothing himself, in actuality. Each has, instead, a right of maintenance from the father, who is sole proprietor of the coparcenary property. The wife, or wives and children of each son also receive this right of maintenance - food, clothing, shelter - through the son, as part of this right, but from the hands of the 'nuclear' father directly.

As each daughter is married off, upon payment of material consideration (bride price or 'walwar') from a unit outside the family cell, but within the tribe, preferably, she is taken from the roof under which she dwelt from birth to that under which her husband has dwelt from birth, and becomes identified completely with his patriarchal extended group. In the very rare case where a daughter is not married off, she remains under the patriarch's roof until his death (or hers), with responsibility towards her taken by her

eldest brother. If after marriage her husband dies, the daughter does not return to her original family, except, perhaps by occasional mutual arrangement, with appropriate return of the bride price, and she may be disposed of in marriage with one of her husband's brothers or uncles, or otherwise, as patriarchal decision deems fit. Where polygamy occurs, all wives identify with the menage of their husband's 'nuclear' father, under his direct authority.

The place of a woman both in her own and her husband's group, is that of financial or material asset, belonging to, but as a person, expendable, and structurally segregated from the rest of the family (organism). This is essentially the bare structure of the Pathan group as it exists through the lifetime of each patriarch. It varies in small detail from tribe to tribe, but not much.

#### Pathan Kinship Structure

At the death of the 'nuclear' father, and then only, the family unit splits into as many units as there are sons. The eldest takes over the ancestral roof, and the others inherit the land, in equal portions. Each of them now becomes a nuclear father himself, the progenitor of a tri- or multigenerational family cell, and, in the fullness of time and incident, himself a tribal ancestor.

This then, is the minimal 'cell' which can be seen to replicate itself identically, through time and in space: each sub-clan thus consists of several families, varying in number according to the

number of sons living at the time of the patriarch's death, separate, but biologically and psychologically bound to each other.

Each clan thus consists of several sub-clans, varying in number, according to the number of sons living at the time of their own father's death, separate, but biologically and psychologically bound to him and to the original patriarchal figure, now a generation removed.

Thus the kinship or tribal group is a collectivity of joint family cells, each of whom through successive generations of fathers and sons, claims descent from the same paternal ancestor. The resultant genealogical chart is a replication of kinship groups, each in itself a clear-cut, identical replication of the original family cell each time in pure form.

It is through this tribal derivation that each man considers himself of a group set apart, distinct from all other people.

#### Early Historical Records of Bannu

The earliest record of Bannu, or Pona as it was then called, is furnished by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien in 404 AD, who found in Bannu 3,000 priests. Two hundred years later, Bannu was again visited by a Chinese pilgrim, the more celebrated Hiuen Tsang. At that time Bannu was subject to the kings of Kapisa whose original



seat was far away in the Koh-i-Daman at the foot of the Himalayas and who are identified with the Turk. Shahiyas of Kabul of early Islamic historians. From the fact that both pilgrims followed the Kurram route through Bannu from Peiwar to Indus, it would seem that the highway from Kabul to the Indus originally ran through Bannu.

Coins of the Hindu Shahyas of Kabul who succeeded the Turki Shahiyas well into the ninth century, and finally succumbed to Mahmud of Ghazni, are commonly found in Bannu. Coins of Azes and Vasudeva 150 AD, are most commonly met with. The names of settlements of Bharat in which are the Akra mounds, and of Kakki to the south of it, suggest a Hindu origin, and support the tradition that the old city was called Bat Ram, an abbreviated name of Raja Ram Chandra whose brother was Bharath the son of Rani Kakki. Traces of what appears to have been an ancient city exist at the mount of Kurram Gorge, but no excavation has yet been made. It would seem that with the disuse of the Kurram-Bannu route to the Indus, the political and commercial importance of the area rapidly declined.

The strategic position of the Bannu plain has guaranteed that, although traversed by many conquering armies, the area escaped the consequences of prolonged conflict. Before the British annexation in 1848, the settlements of the plains regions reflected the characteristics of soil and climate without major intervention from the governing powers. The report of the district land revenue settlement for 1878 (Thorburn) attributes what the author calls "the secret of its insignificance" to the secluded setting of the

valley, away from the major routes linking India with Kabul and naturally protected by the encircling mountains of the Khattack, Niazi, Marwat and Bhattani ranges. Its enclosure and isolation from the major trade and military highways have not prevented the Bannu basin from becoming the prey of a succession of imperial adventures. Hazy and uncertain as the prehistory of the region is, it seems safe to assert that it formed part of the Graeco-Bactrian Punjab empire after Hellenic conquerors had driven out the indigenous Hindu inhabitants. A re-establishment of Hindu hegemony, between the third and eleventh centuries, was terminated by the arrival of Afghan invaders ruled by the Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.

A slow process of immigration and colonization from the north and west led to the entrenchment of Bannuchi/Niazi Marwat populations in the valley, and to the emergence of the earliest fixed settlements. Remote and seemingly unimportant, the settlers in Bannu appear to have maintained only tenuous contact with the Moghul court in Delhi. During the 18th century, the Afghan forces of Nadir Shah and his successor Ahmad Shah Durrani, overran and pillaged the country on several occasions. Their territorial interest in Bannu extended no further than the periodic levying of tributes from the people.

The Imperial Gazetteer of 1908 claims, "So stubborn was the opposition of the inhabitants, that neither conqueror made any attempt to establish a permanent government". In the early 19th century, Afghan tutelage in the region was threatened by the arrival of yet another invading army, the Sikhs, who under Ranjit Singh

entered Bannu in 1823. Although formal control was asserted in 1838, the Sikh intruders followed the negligent example of their predecessors and proved unable to build the machinery of local administration.

Into this confused and turbulent tribal society the British colonial power entered, at first in collaboration with the previous conquerors. Lieutenant (later Sir Herbert) Edwards led a Sikh army into Bannu in the winter of 1847-8, and quickly achieved the submission of the leaders of the Bannuchi and Waziri tribes. The Multan War of 1848-9 saw a second Sikh uprising in the Punjab, a revolt at the garrison established in Bannu, and a simultaneous invasion from the hills were put down by Edwards' successor, Lt. Reynell Taylor, in February 1849. Following the annexation of the whole of the Punjab region in 1850, British administration was consolidated without further armed resistance. Edwards' highly coloured account of his subjugation of Bannu (A Year in the Punjab) treats the social and tribal system obtaining at the time of British annexation as a form of armed anarchy, the 400 hundred fortified villages of the area lacking all coherence and stability. His judgment of the Bannuchis reflects Thorburn's assessment of his decisiveness and self-confidence. Working from the assumption that the political disorder of the region must proceed from the degradation of his people, Edwards treated the Bannuchis as a 'mongrel' race descended from many different Afghan tribes (p.71). The absence of clear central authority in the area is presented as evidence of the population's moral flaws, and as a culpable failure to do justice to the prosperity and fertility of the valley.

"Altogether, nature has so smiled on Bannu, that the stranger thinks it a paradise and when he turns to the people, wonders how such spirits of evil ever found admittance" (p.70).

Edwardes saw what he imagined to be racial confusion and demoralisation expressed in the autonomy of the individual village, impervious to higher authority and perpetually quarrelsome. "Freed from a king, they could not agree upon a chief; but every willage threw a wall around its limits, chose its own Mullick (a master) and went to war with all its neighbours" (p.73).

According to Edwardes, the title of the local chieftains, Mullick rather than Khan, is confirmation of the region's political chaos: the tribal leaders had established their sway over a limited group of village forts (the tuppeh) by force or influence, in the absence of hereditary right and stable power. On to this unfamiliar social structure Edwardes and his successors attempted to graft the organism of British Imperial rule: communications, military presence, a land assessment, pacification of existing conflicts, and the extraction of revenue through regular taxation. He did this, according to Thorburn, by the standard colonial mixture of threat and flattery, dispensing "rewards and honours" to the compliant, to the recalcitrant, "speedy and condign punishment" (Thorburn, p.42).

The decade of 1850 saw the final stabilisation of the Bannu plains under British military and civil government. Local privileged and customs were repressed by a succession of intransigent deputy

commissioners: Lt. Taylor, Major John Nicholson, and Major Henry Coxe. Two provisional land assessments were made, roads built into the hilly lands of the Marwat, and a system of justice enforced in the settlement at Edwardesabad (Bannu City). After the imposition of British control throughout the Punjab, the status of the Bannu area was regularized, it became a major part of the District of Dera Ismail Khan, each district itself forming a portion of one of the Divisions of the entire Punjab. Although the mutiny of 1857 had no effect on the Bannu region, two punitive military expeditions were dispatched in 1860 to quash the defiance of the Waziri people in Mahsud and Kabul Khel. Despite the claims of successive deputy commissioners to have introduced efficient administration and advances in the field of medicine and education, Bannu remained an unpopular and remote posting for British officers; in Thorburn's words, "Bannu had an evil repute as being the most out-of-the-way district in the Punjab, and a wild, lawless, unhealthy sort of place withal, in which it would be difficult to make a reputation and easy to lose one" (Thorburn, p.61). The unpopularity of the area led to frequent changes of administrator, which Thorburn admits "Made the people restless and irritable". By 1877, Thorburn had, however, managed to conclude the first regular land assessment in Bannu, calculating a revenue of Rs.147,977 for Bannu tehsil, and Rs.113,513 for the Marwat tehsil. The settlement of 1907 treats the assessment for Bannu as lenient, and for Marwat as severe, but claims that in the period 1877-1907, "The working of the regular settlement has been attended with very little difficulty in either tehsil" (Settlement Report 1907, p.6).

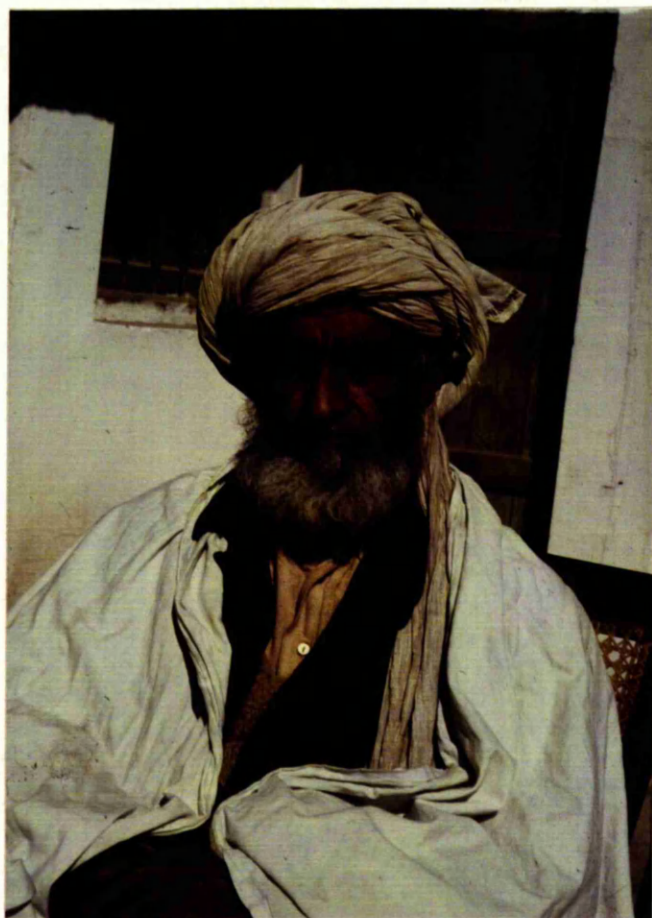


Fig 12 A Bannuchi Malik

## Bannuchis: the Main Settlers of the Bannu Plains

### Origins of settlement

Over 500 years ago, the Bannuchis displaced two small tribes of Mangals and Hannis, of whom little is known, as well as a settlement of Khallaks, from the then fertile country on either bank of the Kurram (Gazetteer 1907). The first authentic mention of the Bannuchis occurs in Babar's Memoirs. He includes the whole of the western valley, i.e., the present Bannu and Lakki Tehsils, as "Bannu territory", and says "of the Afghan tribes, the Kerani, the Kivi, the Sur, the Isa Kheland Niazi cultivate the ground in this country". The three first are Bannuchi clans, viz., the Kerani are the Mirakhel and Ismail Khels, the Sur are the Suranis, and the Kivi are the Miri of today. Babar also establishes the interesting fact that when he came (1505) the Niazis were settlers in what is now Lakki, a Marwat area.

The Bannuchis' previous home had been in the mountains now held by the Darwesh Khel Wazirs with headquarters in Shawal. Sweeping down, they soon occupied the country lying between the Kurram and Tochi rivers and once firmly established, devoted themselves to agriculture. They can safely be called the pioneer agriculturalists of the Bannu plains.

On the left bank of the Kurram, communities were already settled, but were gradually supplanted by the more numerous Bannuchis whose presence was irresistible. It is clear that first the

Khattak and subsequently the Marwats had feuds with the Bannuchis, and that the Marwats were strong enough to check all attempts at Bannuchi expansion eastward to the fens of Ghoriwala.

#### Early patterns of settlement

As soon as their conquests were secured, the Bannuchi settlers seem to have parcelled out the country in a loose way amongst themselves, each group of families receiving once and for all the share to which it was entitled by ancestral right. Pathan tribes seem generally to divide new acquisitions on some established equitable principle, e.g., ancestral shares or number of families or mouths in each khel. The tracts seized by Wazir clans were also divided, and the Haramatala estate in Lakki tehsil granted to Bhittanis in 1866 has been divided by them according to ancestral shares.

The fertility of the valley attracted to it persons calling themselves Sayeds and "learned doctors", and such people were welcome and given land. Also many of the old inhabitants remained as hamsayas or dependants. Besides the true Bannudzais, the descendants of Shitak and his wife Bannu, the hamsaya group and the priestly and learned classes, all of whom are now loosely styled Bannuchis. On the decay and disruption of the Mughal empire, bands of adventurers settled themselves on unoccupied land in the Bannu plains, and taking part with one or other of the factions into which the Bannuchis were split up, gradually obtained a footing. The



notable case of this sort is that of the Moghal Khels, Yusufzais, who conquered territory for themselves eight generations ago and still preserve in speech and physiognomy proof of their origin. Later on during and immediately subsequent to the invasion of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah, adventurers from the Durrani armies, by inter-marriage with Bannuchis, secured here and there plots of land for themselves. From the death of Ahmed Shah, the influx of outsiders, except hamsayas, into the Bannu plains, seems to have come to an end.

#### Early administration of the Bannuchis

According to Elphinstone (1808), Bannuchis "without any common government...pay some regard to the king's authority", i.e., the King of Kabul. From that date, the Kabul empire grew rapidly weaker, and in a few years the capital was unable to send a force to collect tribute from such a distant province of Bannu, and without a force, no attention was paid to either royal messengers or royal purwannas (i.e., summonses). Thus, Bannu became independent of its own lawful sovereign. Before British annexation every Bannuchi village threw a wall around its limits, chose its own Malik (chief). In making their own revenue assessment, the British enumerated 278 Bannuchi settlements, then called forts, without counting in the outside lands of Miri (a Bannuchi clan). It will easily be understood that many of these forts or settlements would be too weak to maintain entire independence, and accordingly, above the Malik of a single village soon rose up Maliks of four or five villages. By 1847-1848, the richer parts of the Bannu plains were divided into 20 lots called Tuppehs, as follows:

Four Surani Tuppehs

Six Miri Tuppehs

Four Isaki Tuppehs

Two Mandan Tuppehs

One Daud Shah Tuppeh

One Mamash Khel Tuppeh

Two Tappi

In 1837 these 20 tuppehs were under only five chiefs, but in 1847, there were as many chiefs as tuppehs. The chief or Malik became so by being the greatest landowner or the wisest in Jirga (council), or the strongest in battle. In short, he owed his chieftainship to power, not blood or right, and his sons after him succeeded only to the same privileges on the same conditions. Chiefs in Bannu instead of being called Khans as in other parts of the North West Frontier Province, are called Maliks.

#### Social Structure under the Maliks

Every Zamindar or landowner, paid his Malik one-tenth of the produce of his fields, which was called Malikyat or Malik share. The chief either collected it in his own barns, or if too idle, farmed it to a Hindu. When realized the tithes did not become the chief's property, but formed a fund when all public charges were defrayed. Out of it the high mud walls around the fortified villages were repaired, the canals and watercourses kept open, arms and ammunition purchased, the pilgrims feasted, the neighbour, saint or stranger hospitably entertained. At the end of the year, if there was any surplus, it became the chief's property, but if there was any deficiency, he was

expected to defray it out of his own resources. The only other revenue which the Malik derived was from a few taxes levied on the Hindus in the villages, such as percentage on all sales and fees for permission to marry.

More securely to preserve this status and to check each other's personal ambition, a political division was resorted to, still more remarkable than the territorial one. The Maliks of the 20 tuppeh divided themselves into two gunds or factions, the leaders of which were the most influential men at the time on either side. At the time of the British annexation, Malik Sher Mast Khan of Jhandu Khel was head of one gund, and Malik Jaffar Khan of Ghoriwala was head of the other. This division stood to the whole of Bannu in lieu of government.

#### Marwat Settlers in Bannu Plains

Towards the close of the 15th century, on the banks of the Kurram and Gambila, some fifteen miles below the Bannuchi settlements, Marwat Lohanis, a younger branch of the Lodi group, swarmed into the area and drove the Niazis (who are also Lodi) across the Kurram at Dara Tang.

For some time the Marwats were mainly pastoralists. By degrees as numbers increased, groups of families went out from the central settlements to seek new homes and villages about the plain, but

each within the rather vague limits of the allotment of the section to which it belonged. Such groups in turn became centres from which other migration took place. Thus, in process of time, the whole plain became occupied, and a large portion of Marwats settled down as agriculturalists, each community holding and cultivating its lands according to the 'vesh' tenure.

During Mughal times, the Marwat, being little interfered with, and being strong and united enough to defy encroachments by surrounding tribes, enjoyed the singular good fortune of being left to themselves and thus developed and worked out their ancient communal institutions. From Ahmed Shah Abdali in 1775 and soon afterwards, the whole of what is now the Bannu district was incorporated into the newly formed kingdom of Kabul. The Marwat areas were never regularly occupied, but in good years if the required amount of tribute was not forthcoming, a force was marched into it and exacted what it could.

The Marwats' divisions are the Dreplara, Musa Khel, Tappi and Bahram. Of these, Dreplara are the most numerous: their settlements lie between Lakki and the hills, and they also have extensive settlements in the Thal. Of the Dreplara, the most important section is the Achukhel, which included Begu Khel, Isak Khel and the Khudad Khel, amongst whom the Sikandar Khel are pre-eminent. The Musa Khel extend from the mouth of the Nugram to the left bank of the Kurram. Of these, the principal sections are Takhti Khel, Behram Khel, Pasanni, and Januzai. The Tappi clan is



Fig 13 A Wazir Malik

generally counted with Musa Khel, and includes the Adam Zai and Wali Warwats. The Behram division consists of the two sections, Totazai and Umar Khan Khel. In the former, the Ghazni Khel tribe occupies the first place, in the latter, the Parharkhel.

The following clans are also commonly known as Marwats, and live in the Marwat tract, and though not Marwat by origin, have by association and intermarriage become assimilated as to be practically identified with them.

The Mulla Khels descended from Hazrat Bilal (a saint), and have houses in every Marwat villages and several villages of their own.

The Michan Khel are Sarhang Niazis, descended from a saint called Michan.

Every Marwat belongs to one of the two great factions, the Spin or Tor, the quarrels between whom led to the occupation of the country by the Mankera Nawab.

#### The Wazirs

The Wazirs are at once one of the most numerous and the most united of all the tribes of Pakistan, and to this, not less than to the strength of their country, are they indebted for being wholly independent. They neither own now, nor by their own account have

ever owned, any allegiance to any of the kings of Kabul. If you ask where their country is, they point to the distant horizon, where the sky is pierced by the snowy peaks of Sufed Koh or the White Mountain, but that great mountain is only their citadel, at the head of a long line of fastnesses extending from Tank, less than a hundred miles from Dera Ismail Khan to within 50 miles from Jalalabad. The Wazirs are divided into two branches, the Utman Zais, and the Ahmed Zais. The former extend themselves from the parent stock in a southerly direction down the Sulaiman Mountain as far as the plains of Tank, and have for their headquarters Kaniguram. The other branch of Ahmad Zai seems to diverge with Salt Range and stretch along it to the eastward as far as the lands of the Khattaks. Hardy and, for the most part, pastoral, they subsist on mountains where other tribes would starve, and might enjoy the possession they have obtained of most hills which encrust the valleys of Khost (Afghanistan), Tochi, Kurrum and Bannu without any inconvenience to the lawful owners in the plains below, if their pastoral care were confined to their own cattle, and not extended to that of their neighbours. But it is the peculiarity of the great Wazir tribe that they are enemies of the world. Of the Wazirs it is literally true that "His hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him".

#### The Origins of Waziri Settlement

Most of the Wazirs settled in this district, occupying grants of land in and upon the borders of the Thal, which intervenes between the hills and fertile centre of the Bannu valley. Before the





**Fig 14 A Wazir Settlement, Hindi Khel  
(Bannu FR)**



**Fig 15 Bannuchi Settlement, Hinjal  
(Near Bannu City)**



establishment of British rule, the tribe was entirely nomadic in its habits, depending chiefly for support upon its flocks and herds. They had indeed begun in an intermittent way to encroach upon the Bannuchi lands, but none of them prior to annexation had permanently settled below the hills. As cultivators they are in no way behind the Khattaks and Marwats who share Thal with them, but in the highly irrigated tracts of the valley, they have yet much to learn from the Bannuchis.

The main divisions of the Wazirs in Bannu is given in the following table:

		(Hathi Khel
		(Sirki Khel
	(Ahmed Zai	(Isperka
	(	(Bizam Khel
Darwesh Khel Wazirs	(	(Umar Zai
	(	
	{Utman Zai	(Bakka Khel
		(Jani Khel

The Hathi Khels are the most numerous, orderly and wealthy Wazir clan settled in the district, and few of them now practise transhumance. This clan is divided into two main branches, Kaimal and Idal. The former has three chief sections, Ali or Khaider Khan, Musa and Purba, and the latter four, Bai, Bakkar, Isa and Kaimal. The Kaimal Khel outnumber the Idal Khells by about four to one. With the exception of Pato Khel, who are a branch of the Ali Khels, and mostly live in the hills, the whole clan is now settled in the plain and is rapidly assimilating to the Marwats. Of the different hamlets Chauki Azim is the largest. Hamlets and separate homesteads are very numerous, because each group of families is settled according

to its own preference. Most of the houses are mud-built with flat roofs. But there are many thatched structures, such as are seen in the sandy parts of Marwat. The special hill home of the Hathi Khel is immediately behind their plain possessions, and is surrounded by Umar Zais, Kabul Khels and Khattaks.

Sirki Khels: This is a small clan and is now practically a branch of the Hathi Khels. It has three main sections, Tobla, Babla and Shuni, all of which hold land in the Thal.

Isparka: The main division of Isparka are Muhammad Khel and Sudan Khel and Sadda Khel. The first has long ranked as a distinct clan, and the collective name is now applied only to the remaining two. The Mohammad Khel settlements are about the gorge through which the Kurram issues from the hills, and include some of the most valuable irrigated lands in the valley. The tribe is divided into four Tarafs, Mohammad Khel Khan, Sudan Khel, Shudakai, and what may be called miscellaneous. The first is the most numerous. The Shudakai Taraf is an affiliated Khel from the remnant of some old hill tribe which cannot trace descent from Isparka. Of the remaining two divisions of the Isparka, the Sudan Khel has four main sections of equal strength, Baghban, Bokul, Kundi and Bharrat. The Sadda Khel section is small in number. Besides the above, there are some families of a people called Dhir affiliated in the clan who seem originally to have been hamsayas and descended from some other stock. The plain settlements of the Isparka are in the Thal, and include a tract of irrigated land on the left bank of the Kurram, known as Sadarawan.



Fig 16 Wazir Tribal Council (Jirga) in Hindi Khel



Fig 17 Transportation of Agricultural Produce  
in Bannu Frontier Region

Bizan Khel: The Bizan Khel are, on the whole, a tightly organized clan. The main divisions are Daulat, Iso and Umar Khan. The fourth, called Moghal Khel, is still mainly resident in the hills. The settlements of the tribe are on the left bank of the Kurram, and include some irrigated land. The Painsa Khel are not apparently descended from Bizan, the common ancestor of the section named above. They also hold some land within Isperka limits.

Umar Zai: The main divisions of the Umar Zai are Man Zai, Tappis and Boza, all holding lands in the Bannu plain. The clan owns part of the hilly country between the Kurram as well as their plain possessions, which lie north and east of the Surani Tappas. They still go to the hills in the hot weather. Many of the members hold land in the Surnai and other Bannuchi Tappas north of the Kurram.

Bakka Khels: The main division of the Bakka Khels are Takhti, Narmi and Sardi. The first are both the most numerous and wealthy, and possess extensive settlements in Shawal. The plain settlements of the tribe are situated about the mouth of Tochi pass.

Jani Khels: The three main branches of the Jani Khel are the Idia, the most numerous, the Tor and the Malikshahi. The plain settlements of the tribe extended down from the Shakhtu and Khaisora passes to the border of Marwat. Like the Bakka Khel, the Jani Khel are gradually being driven from their hill settlements by the Marwat.

Bhittani: The Bannu Bhittanis are Dannas or Wurgaras. The latter are often termed 'fakirkaum' and are the descendants of the clan which held these hills before the advent of the Danna Bhitannis. The Dannas are divided into two clans, Boba and Bobak.

#### External Influences on Pre-Modern Tribal Settlement

Having now followed the several tribes from their previous resting places to their present settlements, their connection with the outer world has to be noticed. How Moghals ruled the Bannu district is not known. No forts containing foreign soldiery seem ever to have been established in their time, nor does any governor or revenue collector appear to have ever resided amongst the Bannuchis. This is surprising, as they were a civilized community possessing a highly developed system of canal irrigation and tillage, at least as far back as the reign of Akbar, if not a century earlier, for Babar in 1505 observed, "The Bangash river (Kurram) runs through the Bannu territory, and by means of it chiefly is the country cultivated". Elsewhere population was sparse and mainly pastoral, hence forts and governors were not required. The probability is that, as in later times, the people were allowed the luxury of self-government, provided they paid fixed annual amounts of tribute. For the Bannuchis, this was in the form of grain or cash, and for others so many sheep, goats and camels, and perhaps also horses and men for service. Prince Dara Shah, son of Shah Jehan once visited the Bannu plains when en route to Kabul, and the largest canal on the

left bank of the Kurram, the Shahjoya is said to have been enlarged and extended under his auspices.

#### Comparative Marriage Customs

The customs as to betrothal and marriage are not in all respects identical amongst the Bannuchi, Marwats and Wazirs, the chief tribes of the district, but the points of difference are for the most part insignificant. In the betrothal of boy or girl, the first advance is made by the boy's family, and if the reply is favourable, and the girl's father expresses himself willing to entertain the idea of a match, negotiations proceed as to the price of the bride.

Occasionally girls are exchanged, but as a general rule the bride is paid for in hard cash. When the all-important question of price of the girl has been settled, a visit is paid by the boy's father and his friends on the father of the girl, when the bride price is paid in whole or in part: in the latter case the balance is paid before the marriage takes place. Although the father of a Pathan girl would never forego the price of his daughter, there is some idea that the transaction is not very creditable. A small sum is often returned, and Bannuchis sometimes absent themselves from their houses at the time of payment and allow a menial to act for them. The betrothal, called 'kwazda' by Bannuchis and Marwats, and 'niwah' by Wazirs, is now considered complete. The return of the boy's father is made the occasion of great rejoicing which as a rule takes the form of dancing and singing 'dris' in Marwat

Pushto and 'mendar' in Wazir. Neither boy nor girl is ever present at the ceremony of betrothal, and amongst Wazirs it is considered more decent to keep the girl in ignorance of her betrothal for a time. The customs of Wazirs as to the behaviour of the boy between betrothal and marriage differs entirely from that observed by the Marwats and Bannuchis. The latter tribes hold that during this period the boy must not visit his future father-in-law's house nor must the girl be seen by him. With Wazirs, on the other hand, the intending bridegroom and his friends go to the girl's house and entertain the family. Such visits are known as 'nanawati'. If the bridegroom fails to go through this part, one of the relations of the bride may say to him, "Khar wutara", "Tie up the donkey". The origin of this expression is unknown, but the ceremony of 'nanawati' must be performed. After the betrothal, the next stage is to fix the date of the marriage. When the date has been arranged, a sum of money in cash, a certain quantity of grain, some sheep and other necessary items for the feast 'kashai', in Marwat, and 'losirah' in Bannu, have to be made over by the bridegroom's family to the father of the bride. A few days before the marriage takes place, the Bannuchis have an exhibition of the clothes and ornaments presented to the bride, 'khat warawal'. This again is made the occasion of further dancing and singing amongst the women. With the Marwat this ceremony is deferred until the marriage procession is leaving the bride's village. All that remains now is for the marriage procession, 'wra', to proceed to the girl's house and bring away the bride. These processions are often extremely

picturesque, the bright dresses of the women, and in Marwat the trappings of the camels, making a gay spectacle. At the head of the procession are the drummers, and as often as not, a troupe of dancing boys. Amongst the Wazirs, the martial character of the tribe is reflected by discharging firearms frequently by the members of the party. The richer Bannuchi bridegrooms ride with the procession, the Marwat and Wazir bridegrooms invariably remain at home. The procession should arrive at its destination shortly after sunset. Amongst Marwat and Wazirs a warm reception is always accorded to the party by the people of the girl's village. In Marwat the visitors may expect to be pelted with clods and rotten eggs. Among the Wazirs, serious injuries are often inflicted in the course of the pretended defence of the bride from the invading strangers. The Bannuchis receive their guest in more pacific spirit. In any case, the night is spent in feasting, singing and dancing. Next morning the bride, who has spent the last day of her unmarried life in the company of the girls of the village, is carried off to the bridegroom's house. In Marwat the bride's last day with her companions is known as 'pengu uruz', as the time is spent in swinging.

Between the departure of the marriage procession and the formal celebration of the marriage, several curious customs are observed, amongst these are the custom known as 'wounding the horse' ('as zoblawal'). A 'kotana' (sweeper) enters the ring of the merry-makers mounted on a dummy horse of reeds, and after a few antics, breaks his steed to pieces in front of some relative of the bridegroom, whose duty it then becomes to reward the performer. The



customs is common to all three tribes, but not one can explain its origin. 'Burai ghuzai niwal' ('holding the woollen sack') is a custom peculiar to Marwats. Before the bride leaves her house, she holds a corner of a woollen sack with a young brother or some male relative. Marwats say that the ceremony signifies the boys' intention of avenging any ill-treatment the girl may receive in her new home. The Bannuchis too have a custom which is known elsewhere as 'garai dakawal', or 'filling the pitcher'. A sister of the bride takes a pitcher to some running stream outside the village. The bridegroom then repairs to the place and plunging his sword into the pitcher. According to the Bannuchis, this ceremony signifies the bridegroom's intention of keeping his wife in seclusion and providing her with water in her house.

On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, a male child is placed in her arms with the idea of bringing her good fortune in the shape of male offspring. At the same time, the bride is made to thrust her hand into a pot of 'ghi', significant of plenty. Finally, 'nikah', the marriage service, is read by the mulla, the 'haq mahr', dowry, is fixed, and the marriage contract is complete. On the third day of her arrival 'drema', the bride returns to her parents' house, whence the bridegroom after a few days' grace brings her back 'rawastawal', man and wife settle down to their regular life of their class, as often as not, seriously crippled in their resources by display which custom exacts from every Pathan on such occasions. Many Marwats can never afford to marry in the regular way, and consequently cases of abduction and claims for 'sharmana' are numerous.

## Summary

The North West Frontier region has been a zone of migration for hundreds of years. Some migrants have simply passed through the region, others have stayed and made their living within it.

In this chapter we have seen how the Pathan tribes who dominate settlement in the Frontier and in the Bannu lowlands in particular are themselves divided into major and minor tribal groups. Although most of the groups settled in the Bannu lowlands may be classified as Pathans with certain common characteristics the major Pathan tribes in the Plains - Bannuchi, Marwat and Wazir - each have distinctive social and economic characteristics.

These characteristics, evident in such aspects of life as marriage customs as well as major forms of economic activity, are vital elements differentiating the groups in terms of their modern settlement patterns and adjustments to new forms of social and economic organisation in the context of modern settled agriculture and developing urban opportunities. Such changes need to be seen in the context of historical patterns of agricultural settlement if they are to be properly understood today, and these patterns are the subject of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4. AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT SINCE THE MUGHALS

### Introduction

The basis of tribal settlement in the Bannu plains has always been agriculture. From the establishment of Mughal rule in Northern India to the present day the economy of Bannu has depended on agricultural activity. The next three chapters trace early patterns of agricultural settlement in the plains, the origins and development of irrigation, and trends in agricultural settlement since 1947.

### Agricultural Settlement and Revenue

Before the annexation of the district by the British Government, Bannu was in turn subject to the Mughal Emperors, the Durrani Kings and the Sikh Maharajas of Lahore. Little or nothing is known of the revenue realised by the Mughals or Durranis.

According to Sir Alexander Burnes the Bannuchi paid a yearly tribute of Rs 140,000 to Kabul, while the Marwat are said to have paid Rs 12,000 to Rs 40,000 per annum. These figures may represent the nominal tribute as registered at Kabul, but it is highly improbable that these sums were paid in full or with any regularity. In Sikh times the revenue of the Bannu tehsil was Rs 65,000 per annum and the Marwat tehsil Rs 40,000 per annum. In the Bannu tehsil this sum was never paid except under compulsion and the Sikhs made no attempt to realise the revenue until the arrears amounted to something worth collecting, when an expedition was sent from Lahore for the purpose.

Marwat tehsil was leased by the Maharaja to revenue farmers, first to Diwan Lakhi Mul and then to Malik Fateh Khan Tiwana. The latter made some sort of revenue settlement with the

chiefs by agreeing to take only one sixth of the gross produce and 'roti'. This was an extra cess in the form of poll tax bringing in about Rs 12,000 a year. It is probable that the sum collected by the revenue farmers greatly exceeded the Rs 40,000 remitted early to Lahore. The poll tax was extremely unpopular, and often caused villagers to flee rather than pay the tax. In 1847 this tax was abolished by Edwardes and <sup>the</sup> substitution of one fourth for one sixth as the government share of the produce was hailed as an acceptable compromise by the people in the sub-division.

In 1849 after the second Sikh War Bannu was annexed by the British government with the rest of the Punjab. For the first four years of British rule the revenue was collected by crop appraisalment of each field, the standard of assessment being one fourth of the gross produce; but an abatement was made in the rate of assessment of Sayyads and the Ulema (Mullahs).

In 1852-53 the first summary settlement of the district was carried out by Major Nicholson then Deputy Commissioner. The average of the collections of the previous four years was made the standard of assessment. At this settlement the Bannu tehsil was assessed at Rs 104,163 and the Marwat tehsil at Rs 113,840. The Marwat tehsil assessment proved to be excessively severe and considerable remission had to be made during the currency of this settlement. In the Bannu tehsil no difficulty appears to have been experienced in the collection.

In 1858 the second summary settlement carried out by Major Coxe, the Deputy Commissioner, was brought into force. The standard of assessment was the same as in the first settlement. In the Bannu tehsil the demand was raised to Rs 113,467 and in Marwat tehsil to Rs 123,417. The assessment of the Bannu tehsil was as before comparatively light. In Marwat tehsil assessment of

second summary settlement was less severe than that of first owing to the increase in the cultivated area but it was still heavier than the country could pay and thrive under.

The first regular settlement began in 1872 under Thorburn and came into force in the Kharif season of 1877. The standard of assessment was, as now, half the net assets of the landowners. Thorburn's circle rates however were not derived directly from the half net assets estimate but from an estimate he framed of the revenue paying capacity of each circle village by village. The full revenue of this settlement amounted to Rs 114,977 for the Bannu tehsil and Rs 113, 513 for the Marwat tehsil. Although assessment of the Marwat tehsil was thus reduced by some ten thousand rupees, the incidence of the revenue on the unirrigated tracts of this tehsil was still unduly high in the light of the prices then prevailing. On the stiff clay lands of North West Marwat this assessment in fact came perilously near to exceeding the half net assets standard, while on the sandy lands of Southern Marwat the revenue approached very much closer to the maximum limit of the government demand than the settlement officer with the statistics then at his disposal was able to foresee.

Fortunately the general rise in prices between 1877-1907 and the great extension of cultivation throughout the tehsil enabled the Marwats in the long run to meet the government demand with comparatively little difficulty. In the light of the revenue imposed on the Barani tracts, the leniency of the assessment of irrigated land in this tehsil was somewhat remarkable. In no case did the rates exceed fourteen annas per acre while the average fell short of twelve.

The assessment of Bannu tehsil was in comparison with that of Marwat extremely light. In the most highly cultivated

tracts of the valley an underestimate of the yield per acre no doubt contributed to this result, but in this part of the district population pressure on the soil and smallness of the holdings always necessitated great moderation in assessment. Elsewhere the conditions prevailing at the time of settlement rendered a full assessment out of the question. Any severity in the case of Wazirs, who were only then beginning to settle down to agriculture, would have been highly impolitic. Only a few years had elapsed since the extension of Kachkot and Landi Kak Canals in the south of the tehsil and in consideration of the heavy expenditures involved in the colonisation of the grants and the difficulties of obtaining tenants a full assessment of the revenue in these tracts was deferred for 30 years. The working of the regular settlement has been attended with very little difficulty in either tehsil. Suspension and occasional remissions will always be necessary in the unirrigated tracts of Marwat and more especially in the north west of that tehsil.

In all between 1878 and 1904, Rs 172,953 were suspended of which Rs 45,334 were remitted and the balance almost realised in full. During the first years settlement remission was very frequent but since the rise in prices it has not been so necessary. In Bannu tehsil revenue has been realised with comparative regularity except in the case of those villages which have suffered from the fluctuations in the perennial supply of water in the Tochi. Here Rs 12,496 were suspended between 1895 and 1905 and with the imposition of the new assessments the whole outstanding balance has been remitted. The gross revenue imposed in the three preceding settlements is given in the following

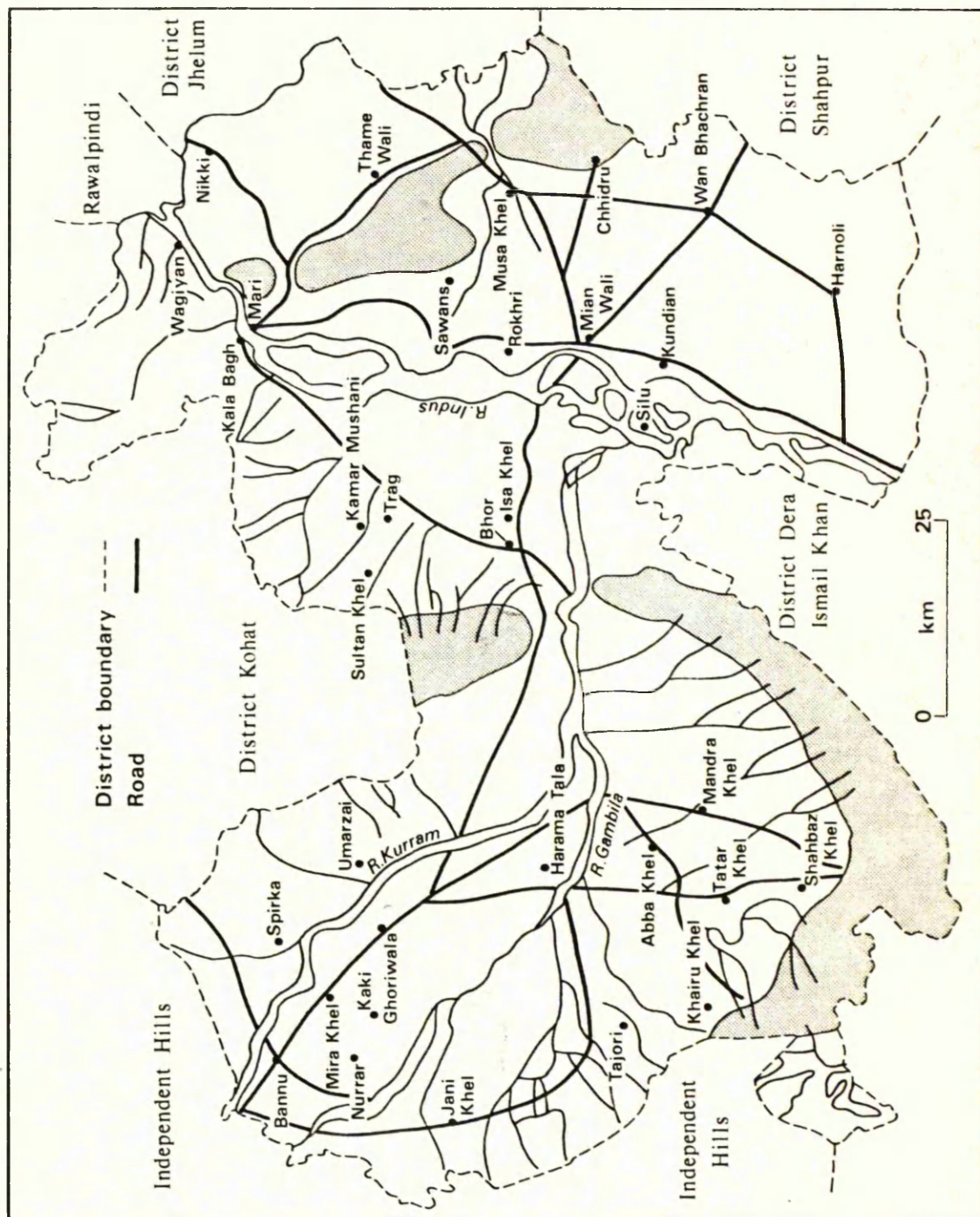


Figure 18 BANNU DISTRICT, 1878

Source: India Office Library & Records,  
Ref. V: (9) 2118 IOR.

statement.

Table 7. Statement of Settlement in Bannu

	1st summary settlement	2nd summary settlement	1st regular settlement
Bannu tehsil	Rs 104,163	Rs 113,467	Rs 147,977
Lakki Marwat tehsil	Rs 113,840	Rs 123,414	Rs 113,513
District	Rs 218,003	Rs 236,884	Rs 261,490

In these figures assignments to the Syyads and Ulema in the form of a favourable rate of assessment are not included. If these assignments were included in gross revenue as in the regular and revised settlements the district total for summary settlements would be Rs 225,069 and Rs 243,342 respectively.

The statistics of area in acres are summarised as under:

Table 8. Early Statistics of Area in Bannu

		Cultivated Area	Irrigated Area	Unirrigated Area	Total Area
Tehsil Bannu	(1877 (1907	139,102 165,064	81,907 79,557	57,105) 85,507)	297,157
Tehsil Lakki Marwat	(1877 (1907	226,424 337,006	20,641 41,501	205,783) 295,505)	775,224
District	(1877 (1907	365,436 502,070	102,548 121,058	262,888) 381,012)	1,072,381



Circles in Bannu District for Settlement purposes during

1872 - 78

1. Circle Bannu (Tehsil Bannu)
2. Circle Tarkha ( " " )
3. Circle Lohra ( " " )
4. Circle Eastern Wazirithal ( " " )
5. Circle Nar (Tehsil Lakki)
6. Circle Landi Dak (Tehsil Bannu)
7. Circle Western waziri ( " " )
8. Circle Tandoba (Tehsil Lakki)
9. Circle Pakha ( " " )
10. Circle Shiga ( " " )
11. Circle Shiga Khatina ( " " )
12. Circle Gadwad ( " " )
13. Circle Nehri (Isa khel tehsil)
14. Circle Kacha Pakka (Isa khel tehsil)
15. Circle Kacha (Isa khel tehsil)
16. Circle Danda (Isa khel tehsil)
17. Circle Mohar (Isa Khel tehsil)
18. Circle Bhangi khel (Isa khel tehsil)
19. Circle Kacha (Mianwali)
20. Circle Kacha Thal (Mianwali tehsil)
21. Circle Thal ( " " )
22. Circle Kacha Pakka ( " " )
23. Circle Pakhar ( " " )
24. Circle Mohar ( " " )
25. Circle Nar (Tehsil Bannu)

Source: India office Library & Records, London

# Re-arranged Circles of Bannu District for Settlement Purposes

1

	<u>1872-79</u>	<u>1907</u>
Tehsil Bannu	1. Bannu 2. Tarkha 3. Lohra 4. Nar 5. Landi Dak 6. Eastern Waziri 7. Western Waziri	1. Bannu 2. Tarkha 3. Lohra 4. Nar-Landi Dak 5. Eastern Waziri 6. Western Waziri
Tehsil Lakki	1. Pakha } 2. Gadwad }  3. Shiga } 4. Shiga Khatina }  5. Tandoba 6. Nar	1. Gadwad  2. Shiga  3. Tandoba 4. Nar

Source: India Office Library, London.

<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to carry out an analysis of a balance sheet of revenues and costs in connection with early settlement. However it has not been possible to bring together the necessary materials for this purpose in this thesis.

Between 1877 and 1907 there had been an increase of 37% in the cultivated area of the district and 17% in the irrigated area. The greatest increase in the cultivated area had been in the Thal where both Marwat and Wazirs have brought much land under cultivation during the 30 year period. The extension of the Lohra Canals in Marwat and the improved efficiency of Kachkot irrigation account for the increase in the irrigated area in Lakki Marwat tehsil.

#### Tenure, Ownership and Tenancy

Bannu district is divided into 62,888 farms. The vast majority conform to the ordinary 'Bhayachara' type. Tenures in Nar and Landidak area were originally Zamindari but will probably all in course of time become 'bhayachara'. In Marwat the communal system of shifting severity was at one time general and tribal lands were subject to periodical redistribution under the custom of 'Khula Vesh' by which every man, woman and child received an equal share. The vesh tenure survived longer in Marwat than elsewhere owing to the fact that any improvement of the sandy land was impossible and that the more careful agriculturists were therefore less opposed to any exchange of land than would be the case in an irrigated tract. In some of the Thal villages acquired by the Marwats after British annexation 'dadhas' or ancestral shares were the measure of ownership up to the revised settlement when the south east corner of the district was partitioned amongst the numerous owners and possession became the measure of ownership. Amongst Bannuchis and Wazirs the vesh system never prevailed. The lands were no doubt originally distributed in

accordance with ancestral shares but tenures are now all 'bhayachara'.

Maurisi (occupancy tenants) are found only in the south east Marwat where they owe their position to their having brought the land under cultivation. Occupancy tenants pay the land revenue and  $1/5$  of the gross produce. The vast majority of tenants are tenants at will.

Cash rents are rare and form no guide to assessment; rents are commonly paid in kind to both tehsils. Before the division of the produce between landlord and tenant certain deductions are made from the common heap. In the first regular settlement (1872) the deduction from the gross produce allowed for menial dues amounting to  $12\frac{1}{2}\%$  for the Marwat and 11% for the Bannu tahsil. In the 1907 settlement these items were reduced to 9% and 7% respectively, as the system of paying village menials a regular allowance every harvest is being gradually replaced by a system of cash payments according to work actually performed. This share of the produce is divided between the reapers, blacksmiths, carpenters, cobblers, crop watchers, weighers, and Mullas who bless the harvest.

At the last settlement no deductions were made in connection with the charges for irrigation. At present over a large area the custom known as 'kashajara' prevails. The 'kasha' is a hired labourer employed by the landlord to do canal labour. Under the kashajara system the owner takes  $1/11$ th of the gross produce from the common heap, pays  $3/4$  of the grain so received to the kashajara and reserves  $1/4$  for himself. In calculating the

the share of the crop taken by the landlord, this arrangement was on the whole equivalent to a deduction of 5% from the gross produce. Accordingly in the last settlement a deduction of 5% of the gross produce has been made in the case of all crops grown on irrigated land with the exception of the Bannu circle and land irrigated from the private canals. In the case of Bannu circle comprising the valuable lands in the vicinity of the city it was difficult to calculate with any reliability deductions to be made in connection with the expenses of irrigation. In some villages the Kashajara system obtains, in some the tenants are responsible for all canal labour, in others owners are required to provide logs and matting for the dams. In the end a deduction of 2% was allowed in this circle.

For the whole Marwat tahsil the share of the gross produce taken by the landlord as per settlement (1907), averages 37% as against 41%. The figure of the last settlement (1872). The apparent fall in the rate of this tahsil is due to the exclusion of 1/5th of the produce of the lands irrigated by Lohra Canals from the amount divisible between landlords and tenants, as this 1/5th is taken as "abiana" by the canal owners before the division of the produce between landlord and tenant is made. As between landlord and tenant that has been little change in the rent rates between the two settlements carried in 1872 and 1907 respectively.

In the Thal and on inferior irrigated land rents as low as one-third or one-fourth of the producer remaining after the deduction of canal and menial's dues established in 1907, remains the standard rate of the tahsil. This is a very high rental

for sandy land yielding an out turn of less than six maunds per acre matured. But in Marwat as elsewhere the rents imposed by peasant proprietors approximate to rack rents. Such rents are therefore a somewhat dangerous guide in assessing the revenue to be paid by a community chiefly composed of peasant proprietors.

In the Bannu tehsil rents were double in the Wazirs circles during 30 years (1872-1907) and today stand at  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the gross produce against  $\frac{1}{6}$  at the settlement of 1872.

In the highly irrigated circles tenants pay as before  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the produce, the landlords finding seed, fertilizer and manure. Elsewhere on irrigated lands the rent is one-half of the gross produce after the deduction of menial and canal dues. The share of landlord for the whole Bannu tehsil now stands at 48% as against 36% at the settlement (1872).

Both in estimate of the gross produce and in estimate of the share of the produce taken by the landlord at the 1872 settlement, the value of straw was omitted. Throughout the districts the landlord takes the same share of the straw as he does of the grain. The inclusion of this item in the estimates during the 1907 settlement alone had added 2.5 lakh of repees to the value of gross produce or roughly 1 lakh of rupees to the share of the produce taken by the landlord.

## Summary

Although settlement was encouraged by the Mughals and the Durrani, and revenue extracted, little is known of the impact or extent of their revenue system in the Bannu plains. In the Sikh period, revenue assessment was rarely met in practice, and was only extracted in periodic raids.

It was the British settlements that gave Bannu their pre-Independence form. Both Bannu tehsil and Lakki Marwat tehsil came under the British Revenue assessment in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with Bannu being assessed relatively lightly because of its smaller area. Even at this stage the importance of irrigation became apparent, and it was only through the extension of the cultivated area and of irrigation that the Marwats were able to meet the revenue demand.

The extent to which traditional systems of inheritance were modified during this period and by the revenue system imposed varied not just according to tribal background but also in relation to environmental characteristics.

Thus it has been shown that the reason why the vesh tenure system lasted for longer in the Marwat area than elsewhere is in part attributed to the fact that land improvement on sandy loams occupied by Marwat farmers was far less possible than in irrigated tracts.

This distinction between dry land and irrigated land lay at the heart of contrasts in revenue assessment, itself the chief

Factor differentiating land in terms of its production capacity.  
The origin, development and role of irrigation are the subject  
of the next chapter.



## CHAPTER 5. IRRIGATION

### Introduction

In Bannu, it has been the necessity of tribal cooperation for the control and regulation of the agricultural water supply which has often led to the formation of compact villages, for example, the Bannuchi Tuppahs of Central Bannu and the growth of strong village communities recently among Wazirs of Western Bannu. There is evidence of a rural economy based on the community organisation of compact villages designed to ensure certainty of agricultural water supply. Before the construction of modern irrigation systems, civil canals in north and central Bannu had regulated the distribution of water for centuries and much pooling of effort and resources had encouraged the strong tribal communities to settle in large compact villages.

### Natural Divisions of the Bannu Plains

The Bannu valley is the open plain sloping sharply from Northwest to Southeast and falls into four natural divisions, 'Central Bannu', 'The Thal', 'Southern Marwat' and 'Western Plain'.

Central Bannu lies mainly in the Kurram-Gambila Doab.

The northern half of this tract has for centuries been irrigated from the Kurram, the country is well wooded; the villages are close together; valuable crops are grown; double cropping is general and the pressure of population on the soil is probably the heaviest in the province. Further south the land has only come under irrigation since the British annexation. Cultivation is confined to staple grains, large areas are left fallow after

every harvest, and the density of population is not very high.

The Thal: To the east of the Kurram lies the tract known as 'Thal', the south of which is held by the Marwat, the north by the Wazirs. Since annexation this tract has been partitioned and given over to peaceful cultivation. The soil is light and sandy, trees are few and population is sparse.

Southern Marwat, the tract between the Sheikh Badin range and river Gambila (Tochi) resembles the Thal in its chief physical characteristics, but it has long been cultivated; there are few trees and population is more numerous than in the tract east of the Kurram. Both the Thal and Southern Marwat liberally repay the rudest forms of cultivation. Soil is extremely retentive of moisture and the rabi crops grain and wheat often survive a drought. In both Thal and Southern Marwat water is at a great distance from the surface.

Western Division: The portion of the district between the western range and the Gambila is composed of stiff clay intersected by ravines and torrent beds. The rainfall is rarely sufficient by itself to bring a crop to maturity and the fields are embanked and flooded from the hill torrents. Even so cultivation is most precarious and the harvest often a failure. Population is very sparse and long stretches of country lie waste.

The rainfall of the district is scanty and precarious. The distribution of the rainfall can best be considered in its relation to the four main divisions of the district. The central portion of the valley is protected by irrigation and the rainfall

in the hills above the district and on the Safed Koh is of more importance than the rainfall in the Bannu basin. Heavy floods carry away the dams in the Kurram and often do more harm than good. Moderate floods from the end of June to the end of September represent the conditions most favourable for a Kharif harvest in this tract. A flood in October is of greatest value for the backward maize in the south of Kurram Gambila doab. It is very seldom that supply of water in the Kurram is insufficient for the Rabi harvest and then only on the tail of the canals. The north of the doab is in any case secure against failure, and even in the south, when the winter rains in the hills are much below normal, only partial failure occurs. In the Thal and Southern Marwat cultivation is practically confined to the rabi crops. Here the soil is so retentive of moisture that sowing seldom if ever falls below 70 per cent.

The summer rains are generally sufficient for sowing. Autumn rains of course enable the zamindars to sow a very large area. In this tract the critical season begins about the end of December. Failure of winter rains is disastrous though even in the worst years a certain proportion of the grain crop manages to survive the drought.

In the west of the Bannu district agriculture is mainly dependent on hill torrents. The rainfall in the catchment area of the Marwat hill torrent is not much greater than in the plain below. The Wazir torrents are more often in flood as their catchment area includes the high hills of Waziristan. In this tract rain in July and August is of course necessary for 'Kharif'.

If the hill torrents do not come down in flood sufficiently early, crops are much restricted. If rain does not fall well in September most of the crop fails to mature, and rabi sowings are impossible. If the winter rains fail the whole rabi crop dries up.

From the middle of September to the middle of December very little rain falls in Bannu and generally it may be laid down as an axiom for the whole district that the later this dry season begins and the sooner it ends, the better for the zamindar. Water is so far from the surface in the unirrigated tract and so superabundant in the canal irrigated tract that the number of wells in Bannu district is necessarily limited and the area under well irrigation is negligible. The cultivation therefore falls under three main heads: canal, hill torrent and barani.

The light soil of Thal and Southern Marwat alone responds to 'Barani' cultivation and that only in the 'rabi'. The system of cultivation is extremely simple, ploughing and sowing are one and the same operation and zamindar with a single yoke of bullocks can cultivate from 30 to 40 acres in a harvest. Wheat millets are practically the only crops grown. Outturns are light, but the harvests as a matter of fact are far more secure than might be expected from the arid aspect of the plain.

In the west of Bannu district dams are placed in the hill torrents and the floods are diverted onto the embanked fields, sowing follows the first flooding. A second flooding is followed by a crop of some sort - a third flooding ensures a magnificent outturn. In a good year the outturns are double or

treble the yield obtained from the sandy soil. But the floods are most uncertain and while the labour of cultivation is greater, the harvests, especially the Kharif, are far more precarious than in Thal or Southern Marwat.

Owing to the diminution of the supply of water brought down by the Tochi (Gambila) the land irrigated from this source is now dependent on occasional floods and hence has been classed in the 1907 settlement with land under hill torrent irrigation. The main sources of perennial irrigation are now the Kurram and Lohra Canals.

#### Irrigation Before 1947

It was in September 1907 that Deane (agent to the Governor General) was asked to improve the irrigation works in Bannu, emphasising how heavily the Government receipts from land revenue depended on these works. He pointed out that in the resettlement operations of 1903-7, the fixed assessment in the district had been raised to Rs 260,000; that but for the existing private canals as much as 21,000 acres of land would not have been cultivated at all, or at the most would have paid a dry rate not more than four annas (25 paisa) per acre yielding a total revenue of about Rs 30,000 for the government; and that without irrigation, government would have lost Rs 230,000 of land revenue from the district. Deane's conclusion was that the government should take a greater interest in the private canals of the district and that as a first step, a small but experienced engineering establishment should be appointed to maintain the canals in good working order

to draw up schemes for their improvement and extension. The appointment of a qualified canal engineer from the irrigation department was asked for because the control and supervision of the perennial canals in Bannu involved a good deal of work.

Deane also wanted an enlarged revenue establishment to deal with the complicated issues of water distribution, allotment and collection of statutory labour, preparation of lists of defaulters, collection of fines, and reporting cases of damage from deficient or excessive water supply. Deane also proposed a uniform cess of 2.5% on the land revenue and an equal amount from Government to pay for the enlarged revenue establishment. The Government of India accepted all of Deane's recommendations, except the one regarding the cess, since they were inclined to abolish the cess altogether.

The present irrigation system in Bannu plains is among the oldest in the Sub Continent and was evolved by the local people themselves. The total irrigated area from Kurram River is about 112,000 acres which is roughly 1/6th of the total area of the district and supports about 2/3rd of its population.

The supply from Kurram River in the preweir period was diverted into canals by constructing a diversion bund of brush-wood and boulders across the main river. The bund got washed away every time there was a medium or high flood in the river, resulting in serious dislocation of irrigation. The local irrigators had to turn out labour to restore the bund.

Until the extension of the Punjab Minor Canal Act of

1905 to Bannu district the management of Canals rested with the land owners and the intervention of the Deputy Commissioner was merely confined to the settlement of disputes and enforcement of the customs with regards to the supply of labour, or payment of fines in default. Since the extension of the Punjab Minor Canal Act 1905, the Deputy Commissioner has been asked to exercise effective control over the canals with the help of the Revenue and Engineering Establishment appointed for the purpose.

The main sources of perennial irrigation in Bannu district is surface flow from Kurram river which has been used historically. The catchment of Kurram river upstream of Kurram Garhi gauge is 4,125 square miles. One of its main tributaries is Kaitu which has a catchment of 1,530 square miles and joins Kurram river 10 miles upstream of Kurram Garhi Weir. The annual rainfall in the catchment area is 15 inches.

The supply in Kurram river itself is extremely fluctuating and varies from a minimum discharge of 380 cusecs during Rabi to a maximum discharge of 150,000 cusecs during Kharif. The actual practices due to vacillating supplies brought by the Kurram river from day to day and season to season became difficult for the cultivator to maintain the old practice of constructing bunds. Distribution and management of available water in Kurram river is based on a document called Rewaj-e-Abpashi enforced under the Minor Canal Act 1905. The total area having rights on the historical withdrawals is of the order of 105,600 acres which is further subdivided according to the following rights they have in the aforesaid document.





1. Zone A	- Area having higher water rights - Upper Riparians 'Saroba'	48,000 acres
2. Zone B	- Area having limited water rights - 'Pukhta'	35,800 acres
3. Zone C	- Area having 'Afzood' or 'Paina' rights - Lower Zone	21,800 acres
Total		<u>105,600 acres</u>

According to this system irrigators of the Upper Zone have rights to use as much water as they like with absolute disregard to the needs of irrigators of the Middle Zone or Lower Zone. The irrigation intensity of Zone A is 200%. The quantity of water is reduced as we travel down the canals system till the water reaches the Afzood area only when the canals are in flood or when it is not required by the upper irrigators. This wasteful and age-old method of water distribution is not only against normal human justice but is against all the internationally recognised methods of water management. The water is generally let to flow over the fields resulting in deep percolation or overflow. The canal system does not conform to the modern design standards with the result that the canals' losses (seepage, evaporation transpiration etc) would be so high that 50% of the water or even less might have been used by crops.

According to Riwaj-e-Abpashi, unlike any other civil canal systems in Peshawar Region, the entire available Kurram supplies are distributed in 17 shares among various channels in the following manner:

1. Patoona Mohammad Khel	- unlimited share	- 4,800 acres
2. Patoona Daud Shah	- 1 share	- 600 acres
3. Landidak and Mamash Khel	- 1 share	- 21,600 acres
4. Kachkot Canal	- 7 shares	- 58,000 acres
5. Left Bank Canals	- 4 shares	- 12,500 acres
6. Mandan Chishina Khunbaha	- 4 shares	- 8,700 acres
Total		<u>105,600 acres</u>

Besides the above the following additional area is irrigated from Lohra Nullah and Kurram river, through inundation head D/S of the recognised system:

1. Lohra Nullah	- vial Ghulam Mohammad	- 7,000 acres
	vial Dorana Khan	- 7,000 acres
	3rd Lohra Canal	- 3,000 acres
2. Lower Kurram Irrigation	approximately	<u>4,000 acres</u>
Total		21,000 acres
Grand Total		126,600 acres

#### Development since 1947

For the efficient water utilisation the Government of NWFP sponsored Kurram Garhi multipurpose project in 1949 with the idea of replacing old civil canal systems fed through inundation heads with a controlled weir system. Later on the scheme was revised and advantage was taken of the 120 feet head to make available two power houses with 60 feet head each. Later on the scope of the scheme was enlarged by the construction of a dam on Baran Nullah having a storage capacity of 98,000 acre feet.

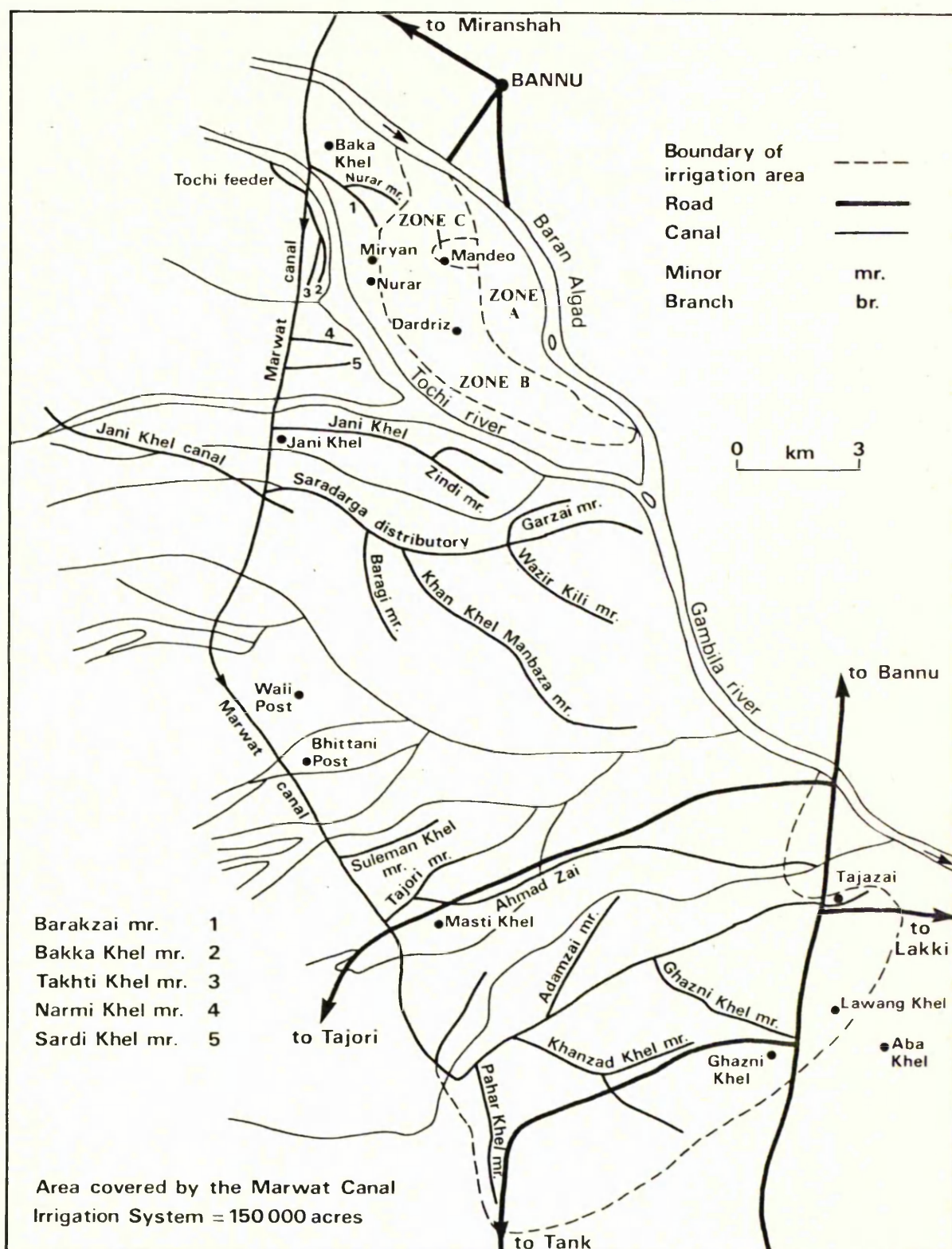


Figure 20 MARWAT CANAL IRRIGATION SYSTEM IN BANNU (WESTERN)

Source: Field Survey 1982

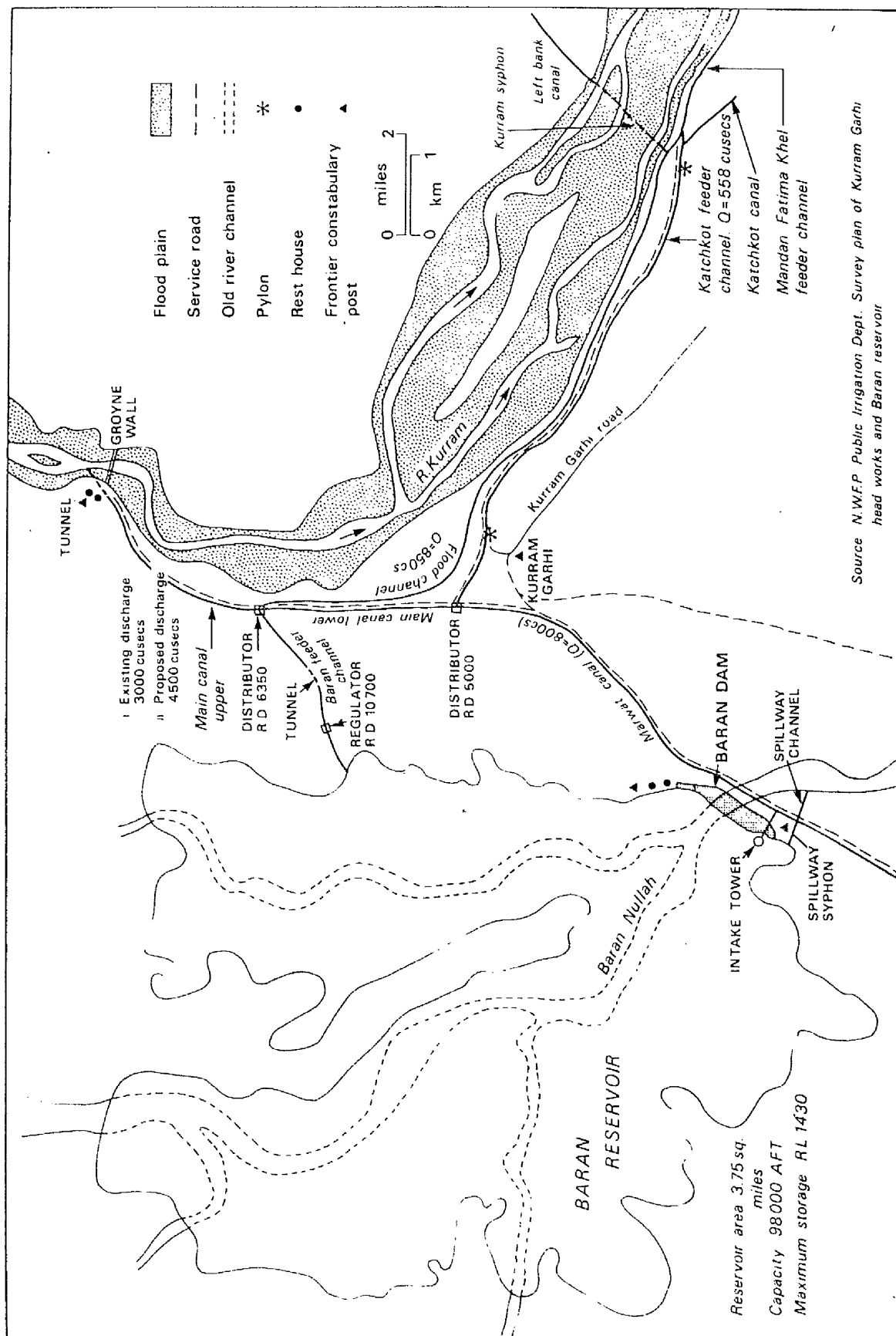


Figure 21 KURRAM GARHI PROJECT

## General Features of the Scheme

### 1. Kurram Garhi Weir and Upper Main Canal:

A 500 feet long regulated weir on Kurram River with a canal Head Regulator on the right side having a discharge of 4,500 cusecs when available has been constructed. Out of this 300 cusecs is given to the old area and the balance discharge is either taken through the feeder canal to Baran Reservoir or through Marwat Right Bank Canal for irrigation of new area through a network of canal systems.

### 2. Kachkot Feeder Channel and Power Houses:

Kachkot feeder channel draws 600 cusecs which after falling through two power houses forms old Kachkot canal through a regulator at RD 15,500 of Feeder Channel.

### 3. Left Bank Canal:

This takes off from Kachkot feeder channel below hydel fall No 2, having a discharge of 52 cusecs. This crosses Kurram river through a 1,300 feet long syphon  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ' diameter. This canal irrigates Surrani area on the left bank of Kurram river.

### 4. Flood Channel:

Flood supply is allowed to join Kachkot Canal when discharge is available in the river. This additional discharge of about 800 cusecs have been allocated on an area basis so as to give Bannu area the benefit of silt in floods and not so much for the irrigation requirements.





Fig22 Kurram Garhi Headworks

#### Private Canals:

Duran Khan and Ghulam Mohammad vials are private minor canals which have inundation head in Lohra Nullah.

#### Abiana:

There is no 'abiana' on the civil canals.

#### Remodelling of the Existing Canals

The existing civil canals system is insufficient both in management and water conveyance. The Rewaj-e-Abpashi has outlived water rights based neither on the area irrigated nor on the availability of water. The 'Saroba' Upper Zone irrigators direct an almost unlimited quantity of water and let it flow over their fields which is either absorbed by the land or is left to flow over the lands which finds its way into ditches and nullah to join the down stream. The 'Paiana' Lower Zone irrigators on the other hand do not get water unless the canals are running full in floods. The canals do not conform to normal design practice and therefore most of the water is wasted on the way without reaching the fields. In order to do away with this wasteful practice the remodelling scheme was chalked out and the work was taken in hand in 1954, but after remodelling a few channels the work was given up owing to disputes on water rights. The dispute is still pending with the government and therefore the future of the remodelling programme is uncertain. The remodelling proposal, though welcomed by the 'Paiana' irrigators clashes directly with the interest of 'Saroba' irrigators because they have to surrender some of the facilities if the proposal goes through;

at present it is lying with the government and needs to be finalised to carry out remodelling.

#### Marwat Canal System

Since the commissioning of the Kurram Garhi Project there is a generalisation that the project has not been able to achieve the planned targets. This contains some reality when the new development under the Marwat Canal is studied from the available record of irrigation achievement from 1962 to date. The scheme envisages the provision of water for 150,000 acres for new culturable command area of 78.5% annual intensity. This compares with an annual irrigation of 117,750 acres planned under the original project. The crop-wise area actually irrigated and the releases from the Baran Dam since 1962-63 is given as under:

Table 9. Crop-wise Area Irrigated and the Releases from Baran Dam

Year	Area Irrigated in Acres			Water Release at RD 11800 in AF			Annual Rainfall in Inches
	Kharif	Rabi	Total	Kharif	Rabi	Total	
1962-63	5091	14958	20049	16448	6188	22636	10.80
1963-64	7342	16128	23470	55014	32396	87410	14.32
1964-65	7238	18946	26184	15532	46000	61532	14.79
1965-66	13068	34167	47235	50336	65726	116062	23.15
1966-67	19578	50705	70283	111530	78930	190460	9.92
1967-68	29825	65177	94502	109794	82230	192024	20.80
1968-69	30096	35774	65807	94768	62116	156936	7.47
1969-70	31083	45798	76881	104616	84322	188938	9.40
1970-71	30825	51605	82430	71810	47262	119072	9.69
1971-72	28629	41435	70064	55584	59930	115514	9.61
1972-73	32449	30000	62499	113588	73118	180706	16.29
1973-74	32409	49344	81753	59076	92966	152092	12.43
1974-75	32761	40574	73335	77612	74776	152386	13.45
1975-76	36343	46815	83158	71258	88900	160158	15.75
1976-77	33783	48163	81946	54302	70184	124486	12.48

Source: Irrigation Department Bannu



From the above it can be inferred that after the first four years (period of development) the irrigation has become steady indicating that the project had reached its optimum development. The fluctuation in the irrigation thereafter is influenced by the weather condition rather than by the reservoir release. The latter part of the table shows a trend towards a decrease in releases.

The Baran Reservoir was planned with the objective to storing 98,000 acre feet of water at an elevation of 1430.0 feet. The life of the reservoir was estimated to be 40 years at the average annual silting rate of 1,200 acre feet per year. The diversion from Kurram river can fill the reservoir up to the pond elevation of 1422.0 creating storage of 78,000 acre feet. This means that 20,000 acre feet of valuable storage is lost. The run off from Baran Nullah does not occur during the period when it is required to fill the upper portion of the reservoir and in most of the years the total run off is much less than 20,000 acre feet. Moreover the Baran Reservoir has also silted up to the pond level of 1382.0, thereby decreasing the capacity by another 20,000 acre feet. Thus the total available supply in the reservoir with the present condition would be of the order of 98,000-40,000 ie 58,000 acre feet an indication that half the life of the reservoir is over.

Table 10.

Statement Showing Total Area (in Acres) Irrigated by Different Sources in Bannu District During the Year 1978-79

Total	Govt Canals	Private Canals	Tube Wells	Wells
164972	64473	96648	3722	129

Source: Directorate of Agriculture Peshawar

Table 11.

Area Irrigated by Different Sources in Bannu District NWFP  
(Area in Thousand Acres)

Year	Total Area Irrigated	Canals		Tubewells	Wells	Other Channel
		Govt	Private			
1947-48	123.8	-	123.4	-	0.3	-
1954-55	136.3	-	136.2	-	0.1	-
1958-59	137.3	-	137.2	-	0.1	-
1959-60	139.6	-	139.4	-	-	0.1
1964-65	146.0	-	146.0	-	-	-
1966-67	100	-	100.0	-	-	-
1967-68	198	-	198.0	-	-	-
1968-69	175	-	174	-	1.0	-
1969-70	175	-	174	-	1.0	-
1970-71	171	76	93	3.8	2.0	-
1971-72	172.6	82.4	84.4	1.0	0.5	1.2
1972-73	178	82	92	-	1.0	1.0

Source: Directorate of Agriculture Peshawar

Table 12. Numbers of Tubewells/Tractors in Bannu District NWFP During the Year 1978-79

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1. Government Elect Tubewells	40
2. Government Diesel Tubewells	-
3. Private Elect Tubewells	63
4. Private Diesel Tubewells	2
5. Government Tractors	4
6. Government Bulldozers	30
7. Private Tractors	151
8. Private Bulldozers	2
9. Lift Pumps	34

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Source: Directorate of Agriculture Peshawar

The total area irrigated in Bannu district forms a small fraction of the total agricultural area. The area irrigated through canals, tubewells and ordinary wells too is not a large one as compared to the total cultivated area or the net sown area. For instance in 1972-73, the total cultivated area was 533 thousand acres, of which 178,00 acres was irrigated area ie 33% of the cultivated area. Similarly in 1972-73, the net area sown was 468 thousand acres. The percentage ratio of irrigated area to the net area sown came to 38%. It follows that the larger portion of the total agricultural land, cultivated area and the net sown remains unirrigated.

Table 11 presents the data pertaining to the irrigated area and the channels of irrigation system. Almost 100% of the irrigated area was irrigated through private canals during 1947-48 to 1969-70. Afterwards a considerable area of irrigated land came under the government canals and by 1978-79, 60% of the irrigated area was through private and 35% - 39% was irrigated through government canals. In 1978-79 the area covered by the tubewell was 3,722 acres and by other ordinary wells only 129 acres area was irrigated. Till 1969-70, as the table shows, the system of private canals was predominant, while from 1970-71 till 1972-73, government canals covered almost 50% of the irrigated area through these canals.

## Summary

Bannu inherited an irrigation system in 1947 which has since been expanded and improved. Although the changes in irrigation have played a major part in the wider changes in settlement and agricultural activity it has been noted that still only one third of the cultivated area in the Bannu lowlands is irrigated. The lack of irrigation facilities in the plains is particularly conspicuous for the rabi crops. Even the existing irrigation facilities are not being put to optimum use on account of mismanagement as well as physical problems.

Inequalities in the share of irrigated and unirrigated land between different groups such as Bannuchis, Marwats and Wazirs are striking. Bannuchis are heavily concentrated in the areas with high agricultural potential on account of their irrigation facilities. However, almost all the recent developments in irrigation have benefitted the areas where Marwat farmers are concentrated.

With only one third of the Bannu lowlands irrigated large scale irrigation still plays a very limited role in the agriculture of the Plains. Small scale irrigation under the civil canals is used mainly for sugar cane and other cash crops. The canal schemes involved are often very small but are usually of considerable local importance. Despite some ambitious schemes in the area there is relatively limited further potential for large scale irrigation, partly because of its high cost, but small scale irrigation could still be expanded, bringing substantial benefits for relatively low costs.

It has been found that canal irrigation is more equitable in providing benefits to the various categories of land holders in the Bannu Plains than other methods. The changes in irrigation since 1947 have played a major part in the wider changes in settlement and in agricultural activity which are the subject of the next Chapter.

## Chapter 6

### Agricultural settlement since 1947

#### Introduction

As was shown in the last chapter agriculture constitutes the principal foundation for the livelihood of the people in the Bannu lowlands. The starting point for all development in the agriculture of the area is traditional subsistence farming which continues to dominate the economic system, and whose main feature is that virtually all its production goes to meet the essential subsistence needs of the members of the economy. However, its significance in the rural areas of the Bannu lowlands today appears to vary according to different tribal characteristics and tribal choices. Thus it is necessary to investigate the complex interaction of subsistence farming with the rapidly developing commercialisation which has been taking place recently in greater detail.

There is considerable evidence to suggest that land use in the Bannu lowlands depends primarily on the different needs of the major tribes, with soil properties and other environmental factors playing a lesser role (aside of course from whether or not irrigation is available, which remains crucial). Land inheritance systems, for example, which play a very important role in patterns of land ownership and use, vary from tribe to tribe. Among the Marwats the 'vesh' system of periodical redistribution operates, while among the Bannuchis and the Wazirs unequal land distribution is one of the hallmarks of an agricultural settlement pattern that has encouraged various forms of inequality to persist in Bannu.

In this chapter trends in land use are examined. This has had to be confined to a District level study in the first instance, and tribal differentiation is very difficult to establish from the only secondary data that are available. However, an understanding of

Table 13. Land Utilization Statistics of Bannu District NWFP Pakistan

Area in Thousand Acres	1947-48	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-72	1978-79
1. Total acreage reported	1072	1072	1072	1072	1073	1072	1072	1072	1072
2. Cultivated acreage total	467	499	533	560	541	589	635	533	609
3. Cultivated acreage (net sown)	325	475	483	485	441	466	451	469	503
4. Cultivated acreage (current fallow)	142	24	50	75	100	123	184	64	106
5. Cropped acreage total	325	475	483	497	484	466	482	469	532
6. Cropped acreage sown more than once	-	-	-	12	43	-	31	-	29
7. Uncultivated acreage total	605	564	539	512	532	483	436	538	463
8. Uncultivated acreage (culturable waste)	289	253	234	204	229	174	171	230	155
9. Uncultivated acreage (forest)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. Uncultivated acreage (not available for cultivation)	317	311	305	308	303	309	265	308	308
11. Net area sown as percentage of total acreage reported	30.3	44.3	45.1	45.2	41.2	43.5	42.1	43.8	47
12. Uncultivated acreage as percentage of total acreage reported	56.4	52.6	50.3	47.8	49.6	45.1	40.7	50.2	43
*13. Intensity of land use	43.1	63.2	63.0	63.5	57.3	61.1	59.8	61.5	66
*14. Intensity of cropping	100.0	100.0	100.0	102.5	109.7	100.0	106.9	100.0	106.1

\* Intensity of land use represents the ratio of the net area sown to cultivable area expressed in percentage. The maximum intensity of land use can be 100%

\* Intensity of cropping represents the ratio of cropped area to net area sown expressed in %

Source: Directorate of Agriculture Peshawar/BEE Peshawar

the broad patterns of change is essential to the subsequent use of village case studies through which tribal choices themselves are more closely examined.

#### Land use

As can be seen from Table 13 there has been quite a considerable change in the area cultivated in Bannu District since 1947. Of a total reported area of just over one million acres, which has remained constant throughout the period, the total cultivated area has risen from 467,000 acres to 609,000 acres, and the net sown area (which excludes current fallows) has risen from 325,000 acres to 503,000 acres. This represents an increase in the percentage of the total area actually under cultivation from 30.3% to 46.9%. Despite the continuing increase in cultivated area, which reflects the steady extension of settlement in the plains, more than half the land remains uncultivated.

Although environmental constraints such as the lack of water and the frequently broken terrain are at least partly responsible for the fact that more than half the area of the district remains uncultivated, it is also possible to argue that prevailing systems of land ownership play some part in slowing down the expansion of the land sown to crops. Although land reforms were introduced in 1958 and 1972 feudal control remains strong in most of the District, a control which in some respects could be held to cause considerable wastage. The land reforms of 1958 and 1972 were both introduced in order to try and achieve both greater efficiency in farming and greater social equity in ownership. In Bannu it is still widely believed that private property is a divine gift and is sacred to individuals, rather than being the result of the operation of particular historical forces. Effective land reforms would show that rights of private property can be revised, reduced or wholly abolished. Some would argue that rights of property inheritance, which may be a means of retaining a privileged position in society while denying incentives



to others to improve their position, must go if a proper correlation is to be achieved between efforts and reward. Certainly it can be shown that in Bannu the increase in cultivated area since 1947 has not nearly kept pace with population increase (discussed in chapter 7). The question then arises whether those land reforms that have been introduced have increased efficiency of cultivation in other ways.

It is clear from the land reform measures that have been introduced to date that their effects have been relatively slight. Even had they been introduced rigorously, however, it is apparent that their impact would not necessarily have increased efficiency or output. For while a large proportion of land is still owned by relatively few large landowners, there are also large numbers of small and fragmented plots. Some of the land which has been re-distributed under the land reform acts has been in fragments that are uneconomically small. Private ownership does not of itself guarantee that farm owners have the necessary capital to invest in improvements.

Some argue that the ultimate cure both for wastage of land resources and for underutilised capacity is the introduction of social co-operatives and the abolition of private ownership. These steps, it is argued, would enable society to make use of rational planning, avoiding the waste of scarce resources. Whether such benefits would necessarily occur is of course untestable within the scope of this dissertation. However, it is clear that given the increase in population discussed in chapter seven, the increase in cultivated area is not sufficient in itself to prevent significant pressure on resources. Some of the responses to that pressure are examined in the next two chapters.

### Food grains

The major food grains grown in Bannu District are wheat, maize, barley and gram. The total area under foodgrains

Table 14. Average Yield of Food Grains in Bannu District NWFP  
Pakistan (per acre in maunds)

Year	Wheat	Maize	Gram	All Food Grains
1947-48	5.1	9.0	1.2	6.5
1955-56	6.1	9.6	5.7	6.2
1960-61	6.3	9.0	3.9	5.9
1965-66	7.0	11.0	4.6	6.5
1969-70	4.8	10.5	1.6	5.3
1970-71	5.4	11.3	2.3	5.5
1971-72	5.2	9.1	4.0	5.5
1972-73	8.4	12.5	6.4	8.5
1977-78	10.2	19.3	3.9	10.1

Table 15 Production of Food Grains in Bannu District  
(in thousand tons)

Year	Wheat	Maize	Gram	Barley	Bajra	Jawar	Rice	Total
1945-46	38.6	11.1	11.1	1.5	0.7	-	-	63.0
1947-48	27.2	10.1	10.2	4.9	0.2	0.4	-	53.0
1951-52	28.7	12.3	4.8	1.8	0.1	0.1	0.6	48.4
1955-56	50.0	13.1	28.4	2.1	0.8	1.0	0.8	96.2
1959-60	64.6	14.1	1.8	3.1	0.4	1.0	0.4	85.4
1965-66	64.0	17.0	25.0	1.1	0.4		1.0	108.5
1969-70	49.0	15.0	4.0	3.0		6.0	2.0	79.0
1970-71	47.0	17.0	9.5	1.7		7.0	2.0	83.5
1971-72	40.2	13.8	8.4	1.6	0.5	0.8	0.8	66.1
1972-73	83.0	20.5	16.2	3.8	0.5	1.1	1.5	126.6
1977-78	97.1	28.9	21.8	1.9	0.3	0.5	1.5	152.0

Source: 1) Agricultural Statistics of NWFP/Directorate Agriculture  
NWFP  
2) Ministry of Food and Agriculture Islamabad  
3) BEE Peshawar University

Table 16 Area Sown to Food Grains in Bannu District NWFP  
Pakistan (in thousand acres)

Year	Wheat	Maize	Gram	Barley	Bajra	Jawar	Rice	Total
1945-46	227.7	34.8	120.2	8.2	7.2	3.8	2.4	404.3
1947-48	148.7	31.2	85.9	15.1	3.3	3.4	0.7	228.3
1955-56	227.0	38.0	139.0	12.0	7.0	6.0	2.0	431.0
1959-60	313.0	39.0	101.0	17.0	4.0	5.0	2.0	481.0
1965-66	256.0	43.0	150.0	6.5	2.0	3.0	4.0	464.0
1969-70	284.0	40.0	70.0	11.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	415.0
1970-71	243.0	42.0	115.0	7.7	3.0	5.0	4.0	420.0
1971-72	266.1	42.4	57.4	7.9	4.5	4.6	1.6	334.5
1972-73	275.4	45.6	70.6	12.4	3.8	4.6	2.9	415.3
1977-78	258.4	40.7	150.6	5.0	1.7	2.5	3.3	462.2

Source: Agricultural Statistics of NWFP

has ranged between 228,000 acres in 1947-48 and 462,000 acres in 1977-78. However, as can be seen from Table 17 there has been considerable fluctuation around these figures, and they do not represent a straightforward or steady increase in area. 1947-48 was a particularly difficult year because of the effects of partition, and 1945-46 is a better year for comparison. As can be seen from Table 17 the total area under foodgrains increased by only 14% between 1945-46 and 1977-78.

By far the most important single foodgrain is wheat, which covers more than 50% of the total area under foodgrains. The second most important crop in this category is gram, occupying just over 33% of the foodgrain area in 1977-78. Maize is the only other crop that covers a significant area, with crops such as barley, bajra, jowar and rice accounting for under 5% of the total area. It is striking that the relative share of the major foodgrains has remained almost entirely constant since 1945-46 pointing to the complete absence of change in the cropping pattern of foodgrains during the period.

Output of the major foodgrains reflects the same general pattern as that suggested by the area sown to each crop. There has been a slightly greater increase in wheat output (and hence in relative yields) than of gram, with maize also slightly improving its share. However, despite the fact that wheat output rose by more than two and a half times between 1945-46 and 1977-78, with a similar increase in maize production and a growth of nearly two times in gram output, yields remained relatively low. Thus despite improvements in output the average wheat yield is still less than 0.4 tonnes per hectare with gram less than 0.15 tonnes per hectare. Maize shows the highest yields, reaching nearly 0.75 tonnes per hectare in 1977-78, but even in comparison with yields elsewhere in the sub-continent all the foodgrains show a poor performance.

### Major Cash Crops

The peculiar soil and climatic condition of Bannu District is suitable for the production of good quality sugar cane. Comparison of the sugar recovery rate in various sugar mills in NWFP province shows almost the same figures. The rate of sugar recovery from 100 maunds of sugar cane in Bannu Sugar Mill ranges between 6 to 8.50 maunds. Thus the major item of cash crops is sugar cane. The acreage and the output position of the sugar cane surpasses all other items of major cash crops grown in Bannu District such as tobacco, fruits, and vegetables. Almost 70% - 90% of the total acreage under cash crops was covered by the sugar cane throughout the period between 1945-46 to 1977-78. The area under sugar cane continuously tended to go up, particularly after the establishment of modern sugar mill in 1964-65. Hence from 1945-65 onwards, the area covered by the sugar cane witnessed remarkable progress. Whereas in 1964-65 the total acreage under sugar cane was 7,000 acres, in 1977-78 it shot up to 12,400 acres - nearly double. Likewise the production of sugar cane too soared to as high a level as 178.9 thousand tons in 1972-73, and 264.2 thousand tons in 1977-78 as compared to the output level of 70 thousand tons in 1964-65. The main reason again can safely be attributed to the establishment of sugar industry and expanding demand for sugar. Also the relative changes in prices in favour of sugar cane led to the increase output of sugar cane in the project area.

It follows that the potential resources in Bannu District were already higher than the actual production of sugar

Table 47 Area Sown to Major Cash Crops in Bannu District  
NWFP Pakistan (in thousand acres)

Year	Sugar cane	Tobacco	Vegetables	Fruits	Total
1945-46	3.6	0.5	-	-	4.1
1946-47	3.5	0.4	-	-	3.9
1947-48	3.5	0.3	8.7	-	12.5
1948-49	3.1	0.3	2.5	-	5.9
1949-50	3.0	0.3	2.6	-	5.9
1950-51	2.3	0.4	3.1	-	5.8
1951-52	3.0	0.3	3.8	-	7.1
1952-53	4.6	0.6	3.9	-	9.1
1953-54	4.2	0.5	3.9	-	8.6
1954-55	4.0	0.8	0.5	-	5.3
1955-56	4.0	0.6	0.7	-	5.3
1956-57	6.0	0.5	0.4	-	6.9
1957-58	7.0	0.4	0.9	-	8.3
1958-59	8.0	0.8	0.6	-	9.4
1959-60	5.0	0.4	1.2	-	6.6
1960-61	6.0	0.3	11.4	1.2	18.9
1961-62	7.0	0.6	8.5	1.3	17.4
1962-63	8.0	0.6	10.6	2.6	19.8
1963-64	7.0	0.8	8.5	2.0	18.3
1964-65	7.0	1.1	6.5	1.1	15.7
1965-66	7.9	1.1	1.1	0.6	10.7
1966-67	2.7	0.9	1.3	0.8	15.7
1967-68	11.5	0.7	2.0	0.8	15.0
1968-69	11.0	0.8	2.2	0.5	14.5
1969-70	12.0	0.8	1.4	-	14.2
1970-71	13.4	0.8	2.5	-	16.7
1971-72	14.9	0.7	-	-	-
1972-73	17.5	0.5	-	-	-
1977-78	12.4	0.2	2.0	3.8	18.4

Source: BEE Peshawar University Directorate of Agriculture Peshawar

Table 18 Production of Major Cash Crops in Bannu District NWFP  
(in thousand tons)

Year	Sugar Cane	Tobacco	Vegetables	Fruits
1945-46	31.0	-	-	-
1946-47	30.0	-	-	-
1947-48	30.0	0.1	3.8	-
1948-49	27.1	0.3	4.7	-
1949-50	24.7	0.1	5.2	-
1950-51	20.7	0.1	6.5	-
1951-52	24.7	0.1	7.6	-
1952-53	16.0	0.2	8.2	-
1953-54	34.8	0.1	8.0	-
1954-55	34.0	0.2	8.4	-
1955-56	47.0	0.1	13.4	-
1956-57	51.0	0.1	13.2	-
1957-58	68.0	0.1	14.0	3.9
1958-59	67.0	0.5	20.0	-
1959-60	48.0	0.2	22.8	-
1960-61	54.0	0.1	32.2	2.2
1961-62	68.0	0.2	31.0	2.4
1962-63	84.0	0.2	7.0	2.4
1963-64	71.0	0.3	38.9	4.3
1964-65	70.0	0.4	11.3	2.3
1965-66	83.2	0.4	2.8	0.9
1966-67	123.8	0.2	1.6	1.3
1967-68	134.4	0.1	7.9	1.5
1968-69	126.4	0.2	8.3	1.1
1969-70	140.5	0.2	7.0	-
1970-71	166.0	0.1	9.2	-
1971-72	173.0	0.3	-	-
1972-73	178.9	0.1	-	-
1977-78	120.4	0.09	-	-

Source: Agriculture Statistics of NWFP, BEE Peshawar/Directorate of Agriculture NWFP Peshawar





Fig23 Cash Crops Turmeric (foreground)  
Garlic (background)



Fig 24 Processed Turmeric Ready for Market

cane. The establishment of sugar industry which plays a vital role in the category of agro-based industries exercised a big stimulating effect on the utilisation of the potential soil and climatic conditions for the output of sugar cane.

Table 20 is indicative of the average per acre yield of sugar cane measured in tons per acre for the period 1947-48 till 1972-73 (calculation of selected 8 years). It is found that no spectacular upward trend is visible as regards the yield per acre. Thus the average yield per acre varies in the range between 8.8 tons minimum in 1947-48 to 12.3 tons maximum in 1970-71. In 1971-72 the average yield per acre went down to 11.5 tons and in 1972-73 the decline reached 10 tons per acre. More recently in 1977-78 the figure recorded is less than 10 tons per acre.<sup>1</sup>

### Fruits

The main items of fruits are banana and guava. Although Bannu District commands a leading position in the output of dates, yet the data are not available. The total area under banana was 600 acres in 1960-61, whereas it was 598 acres in 1977-78. The area covered by the guava ranges between 300 to 900 acres from the years 1960-61 through to 1968-69 whereas in 1977-78 guava covered only 400 acres. The output of banana registered quite a fair upward trend and increased from 323 tons in 1957-58 to 980 tons in 1960-61, in 1961-62 1,065 tons and 2,539 tons in 1963-64. The year 1964-65 faced a big decline and the output of banana

declined to 1,133 tons. However, the general picture as a whole  
1. It is impossible to tell from the secondary data whether this is due to a reduction in the fertility levels of the soil or to the extension of sugar cane cultivation to less suitable soils.



Fig 25 Garlic in Bannu Market ready for shipment to Karachi



Fig 26 Harvesting of Sugar Cane near Kakki, Bannu

Table 19 Average Yield Per Acre of Sugar Cane in Bannu District

Years	Yields (in tons per acre)
1947-48	8.0
1955-56	11.7
1960-61	9.0
1965-66	10.5
1969-70	12.3
1971-72	100.0
1977-78	9.4

Source: Directorate of Agriculture Peshawar BEE Peshawar

Table 20 Area Sown To Fruits in Bannu District NWFP (thousand acres)

Year	Bananas	Guavas	Apples	Citrus	Others
1960-61	0.6	0.3	0.3	-	-
1961-62	0.6	0.4	0.3	-	-
1962-63	1.3	0.9	0.3	0.1	-
1963-64	1.1	0.5	0.2	0.1	-
1964-65	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.1	-
1965-66	-	0.3	0.2	0.1	-
1966-67	-	0.6	0.2	-	-
1967-68	-	0.6	0.2	-	-
1968-69	-	0.3	0.2	-	-
1969-70	-	-	-	-	-
1970-71	-	-	-	-	-
1977-78	0.59	0.40	-	-	0.56

Source: Agricultural Statistics of NWFP/BEE Peshawar University/  
Directorate of Agriculture NWFP Peshawar

Table 21 Production of Fruits in Bannu District NWFP (tons)

Year	Banana	Guava	Plum	Apples	Citrus
1955-56	-	-	-	-	-
1956-57	-	-	-	-	-
1957-58	323	2086	-	173	-
1958-59	-	-	-	-	-
1959-60	-	-	-	-	-
1960-61	980	786	-	360	21
1961-62	1041	877	-	439	24
1962-63	1065	862	45	379	85
1963-64	2539	1169	40	360	109
1964-65	1133	696	37	357	76
1965-66	-	503	40	318	73
1966-67	-	857	40	287	88
1967-68	-	1174	59	245	80
1968-69	-	632	61	282	85
1969-70	-	-	-	-	-
1977-78	4784	3000	-	-	-

Source: Agricultural Statistics NWFP BEE Peshawar/DA Peshawar



is favourable. The output of guava is visible in the shape of little upward and downward trends and ranges between 503 tons minimum in 1965-66 to 2,086 tons maximum in 1957-58. It means that the year 1957-58 recorded the largest quantity of guava output and since then till 1968-69, the output level could not touch the original level (ie of 1957-58). Other important fruits grown in Bannu District are plums, apples and citrus.

#### Vegetables

Major items of vegetables grown in Bannu District are onion, garlic, turmeric and tomatoes. The total area under vegetables is on the downward trend. In 1947-48 vegetables covered 8.7 thousand acres. In all the subsequent years with few exceptional periods, the momentum of downward trend maintained. In the year 1970-71 the area occupied by the vegetable sown was as low as 2.5 thousand acres. The output of onion shows a fair increase: whereas in 1947-48 till 1958-59 it was below 2,000 tons, in 1970-71 the output increased to 3.9 thousand tons. The output of garlic presents a case similar to that of onion. As regards the data pertaining to other vegetables such as potatoes, chillies, okra, radish etc, either the data are unavailable, negligible or nil. An idea about their exact position cannot be formed.

### Minor crops

The most important minor crops in Bannu District are cotton lint, cotton seed and mung. Others are of negligible importance, and the total area under the various minor crops has never totalled more than 8,000 acres since 1945-46.

### Agricultural finances

The improvement of land and its scientific cultivation requires considerable financing. Institutions and agencies such as the Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan, Co-operative banks and other commercial banks have been the major institutions through which credit in Bannu District could be obtained. It was appreciated by the Pakistan Government that a healthy network of such financial institutions could play a crucial role in enabling farmers to buy essential inputs such as improved seeds, chemical fertilizer and any other capital purchases. Early experiments at the East Pakistan centre for Agricultural Research and Development that the provision of credit in suitable form was a key factor in the adoption of new technology such as fertilizers and high yielding variety seeds (Jones 1978). Any form of mechanisation would also require large investment, although the implications of labour-replacing mechanisation are of course potentially severe for a labour-surplus agricultural economy such as that in Bannu.<sup>1</sup>

Some forms of mechanisation could play a vital part in increasing productivity while possibly increasing labour demand. This is most clearly true of tube well irrigation, the cost of which put them out of reach for most of the farmers without special credit help. Thus the existence, growth and sound functioning of the financial institutions could go a long way in improving agricultural output.

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1. With the growing emigration of workers to Karachi and the Gulf there is some evidence that labour replacing machinery may become in demand. This is particularly noticeable at the harvest season (discussed below).

Various types of loans are advanced to the agricultural community for various purposes. Short-term loans are extended for meeting such expenses as seeds, fertilizers, labour charges, bullock carts etc. Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan (ADBP) advanced Rs 14,917 in 1966-67, Rs 178,475 in 1967-68, Rs 90,777 in 1968-69 and Rs 19,501 in 1969-70. Such short-term loans are shown to have been advanced for purchase of seeds and fertilizers. Medium-term loans are advanced for such purposes as levelling of land, excavation, cattle, indigenous implements, poultry farming, animal husbandry, dairy farming, tube wells, tractors etc. In 1969-70, of the total of 1.24 lakh rupees advanced for such purposes a sum of Rs 1.2 thousand was advanced for levelling of the land, Rs 14,000 for cattle, Rs 68.6 thousand for animal husbandry and Rs 40.5 thousand for tractors. Thus the amount of medium-term loans during the period under reference appears to have been advanced for four purposes ie levelling of land, cattle, animal husbandry and tractors. In the year 1971-72 a total amount of only Rs 45.8 thousand was advanced. Of this Rs 21 thousand were for cattle, Rs 4.5 thousand for animal husbandry and the balance of 20.3 thousand rupees for tractors. The total amounts of loan advanced by the ADBP in Bannu from 1966-67 through to 1971-72 appears to be very meagre.

No doubt the ADBP can play a vital role in the rate and magnitude of growth in the rural economy. But again owing to the basic structural flaw in the agricultural sector, the bulk of loans go to the rich landlords owing to their vigorous socio-economic and political influence. Further, the landless tenants and small landowners cannot meet the conditions for the advancement



of loans such as guarantees and securities. The privileged landowners can and do bribe the administration of ADBP and secure commensurate benefits. Such practices, and the highly unequal distribution of benefits by the ADBP, it could be argued, cannot be expected to be changed unless the existing social structures and patterns of ownership themselves are altered. Thus although the ADBP does extend loans for such objectives as godowns, power pumps, tube wells, horticultural development and other purposes, the sums are relatively small and socially unequally shared. In 1970-71, for example, a sum of Rs 1.32 lakh was loaned on a long term basis for tractor purchase, the purchase of which are only within the means of the larger landowners.

#### Taggavi loans

Taggavi loans in Bannu were short term and were advanced for such purposes as the improvement of land, the purchase of cattle and seeds and similar improvements. From 1945-46 until 1954-55 the amounts advanced were very small, amounting to no more than a few thousand Rupees. From 1956-57 onwards larger amounts were distributed, and in 1970-71 Rs 2.8 lakh were given under this heading.

The advances made to farmers by the co-operative institutions were also of a short-term nature and were advanced for such important purchases as cattle, implements fertilisers, seeds and other miscellaneous purposes. Only short and medium term loans have been advanced, the amount loaned increasing from Rs.3.04 lakh in 1956-57 to Rs 8.13 lakh in 1972-73. Given the level of inflation in the intervening period that represents a marginal real increase in loans.

The small scale of loans made through the co-operative sector is illustrated further by the overall figures. Loans outstanding in 1970-71 were over Rs.1.4 million

Table 22 Number and Area of Farms, Classified by Tenure in Bannu District NWFP

Size of Farm (acres)	Number of Farms				Farm Area (acres)			
	Total	Owner Farms	Owner cum Tenant Farms		Total	Owner Farms	Owner cum Tenant Farms	
			Tenant Farms	Tenant Farms			Tenant Farms	Tenant Farms
Total	62884	22910	19361	20613	686248	132588	422490	131170
under 1.0	15295	8392	1143	5760	7082	3558	713	2811
1.0 to under 2.5	12766	5243	2361	5162	20442	8156	3962	8324
2.5 to under 5.0	9511	3474	2702	3335	33305	12036	2940	11629
5.0 to under 7.5	5169	1601	1810	1758	31336	9582	11023	10731
7.5 to under 12.5	6039	1526	2505	1908	58178	14674	25394	18110
12.5 to under 25.0	6583	1508	3498	1577	117024	26591	62902	27531
25.0 to under 50.0	4819	841	3230	748	168915	28710	115103	25102
50.0 to under 150.0	2557	290	1902	365	185462	21260	137270	26932
150.0 and over	145	35	110	-	65504	8021	56483	-

Percentage Distribution					
Total	100	36	31	33	19
under 1.0	100	55	7	38	10
1.0 to under 2.5	100	41	19	40	19
2.5 to under 5.0	100	37	28	35	29
5.0 to under 7.5	100	31	35	34	31
7.5 to under 12.5	100	25	43	32	25
12.5 to under 25.0	100	23	53	24	23
25.0 to under 50.0	100	17	67	16	17
50.0 to under 150.0	100	11	75	14	11
150.0 and over	100	24	76	-	12
Average percentage	100	30	43.4	26.6	26.4
					48.3
					25.3

Source: Agricultural Census of Pakistan Vol II 1960

out of the total that had been advanced between 1946-47 and 1970-71 of Rs 2.4 million. Not only was the outstanding debt relatively high at the end of the period but the total advanced during the 25 years was a small sum in relation to the needs of farmers in Bannu District.

#### Land reforms in Bannu District, 1972

The 1972 land reforms (introduced under the Martial Law Regulation No.115) set a ceiling on land of 150 acres of irrigated land or 300 acres of unirrigated land. However, the impact of the new martial law regulation was minimal. By the end of the decade a total of 3146 acres had been declared surplus under the new ceiling, of which 2125 acres was irrigated. The total land actually resumed was only 1380 acres, of which 888 acres was irrigated.

The marginal impact of this legislation is illustrated further by the fact that the total number of landlords affected by the legislation was restricted to six, and only 254 tenants received redistributed land. On average each tenant received 5.4 acres of land. It is worth noting that the official definition of an economic holding is one having at least 50 acres, twelve and a half acres being deemed necessary for a subsistence holding. Thus the redistribution of holdings effected in Bannu District appears to have had virtually no effect either on the degree of concentration of land or on the opportunities for small farmers to farm more efficiently.

The record of land reform measures in Bannu raises the question as to why land reforms are deemed important in the first place. The adoption of the 1972 measures was made with a view to bringing

Table 23 Number and Area of Individual and Joint Farms, Classified by Size in Bannu District NWFP

Size of Farm (acres)	Number of Farms			Farm Area (acres)		
	Total	Individual	Joint	Total	Individual	Joint
Total	62884	43385	19499	68248	486971	217277
under 1.0	15295	9512	5783	7082	4515	2567
1.0 to under 2.5	12766	8705	4061	20442	14016	6426
2.5 to under 5.0	9511	6601	2901	33305	23100	10205
5.0 to under 7.5	5169	3700	1469	31336	22480	8856
7.5 to under 12.5	6039	4443	1596	58178	42860	15318
12.5 to under 25.0	6583	4901	1682	117024	87462	29562
25.0 to under 50.0	4819	3603	1216	168915	126041	42874
50.0 to under 150.0	2557	1845	712	185462	131561	53901
150.0 and over	145	75	70	64504	16936	47568
Percentage Distribution						
Total	100	69	31	100	68	32
under 1.0	100	62	38	100	64	36
1.0 to under 2.5	100	68	32	100	69	31
2.5 to under 5.0	100	69	31	100	69	31
5.0 to under 7.5	100	72	28	100	72	28
7.5 to under 12.5	100	74	26	100	74	26
12.5 to under 25.0	100	74	26	100	75	25
25.0 to under 50.0	100	75	25	100	75	25
50.0 to under 150.0	100	72	28	100	71	29
150.0 and over	100	52	48	100	26	74
Average percentage	100	68.7	31.3	100	66.3	33.7

Source: Agricultural census of Pakistan 1960

Table 24. Number, Area and Average Size of Farms, Classified by Tenure in Bannu District NWFP

Tenure	Farms		Farm Area			Cultivated Area		
	No	%	Total Acres	%	Average Acres	Total Acres	%	Average Size Acres
1. Owner Farms	22910	36	132588	19	5.8	85382	17	3.7
2. Owner cum Tenant Farms	19361	31	422490	62	21.8	299611	60	15.5
3. Tenant Farms	20613	33	131170	19	6.4	114765	23	5.6
Total	62884	100	686248	100	10.9	499758	100	7.9

Source: Pakistan Census Agriculture Vol II 1960

Table 25 Number and Area of Farms, Classified by Size in Bannu District NWFP

Size of Farm (acres)	Farms		Farm Area			Cultivated Area		
	No	%	Total Acres	%	Percent	Total Acres	%	Percent
Total	62884	100	686248	100		499758	100	
under 1.0	15295	24	7082		1	6133		1
1.0 to under 2.5	12766	20	20442		3	18612		4
2.5 to under 5.0	9511	15	33305		5	29989		6
5.0 to under 7.5	5169	8	31336		5	27497		6
7.5 to under 12.5	6039	10	58178		8	50531		10
12.5 to under 25.0	6583	11	117024		17	96837		19
25.0 to under 50.0	4819	8	168915		25	131844		26
50.0 to under 150.0	2557	4	185462		27	127965		26
150.0 and over	145	less than 0.5	64504		9	10350		2

Source: Pakistan Census of Agriculture Vol II 1960

a fundamental change in the feudal structure of the District and the social patterns of organisation and land ownership which reflect that structure. In addition it was hoped to invigorate the economy with the provision of greater incentives to stimulate production.

As the results show, such changes are far from easy to produce simply by legislation. The changes in the law do nothing in themselves to alter the conservative views of the mystical or metaphysical rights of ownership that are a feature of most of the tribal settlers of the Bannu Plains. Although these views are showing signs of change, and although the practices of the different tribal groups vary, feudal attitudes and feudal power structures remain strong. Where private property is the rule and private ownership is an all-pervading phenomenon land reforms such as those introduced are beset by many problems. Some would argue that such land reforms can never achieve the fundamental redistribution of rights in land that is necessary to achieve the structural change that is desired. Whether or not one accepts that view, it has been shown that such land reforms tend to redistribute land in such a way that it contributes to uneconomic and below subsistence holdings.

The uneconomic size of holdings leads to a number of problems for the farmers. They often cannot afford to farm their land with intensive methods, and mechanisation is too costly for them to afford. Their marginal ability to survive leads to the constant danger of resale to the big landlords, and land may be re-purchased by the landlords or their family members, and again the feudal families remain unaffected.

Problems of agricultural settlement in Bannu District,  
1980

In concluding this Chapter on settlement in Bannu District since 1947 it is appropriate to point to some of the problems which farmers in the area see to be important.

1. New varieties of seed, although increasingly available, are often supplied too late to the farmers. Furthermore, farmers complain that the seed supplied is often not only too late ( it needs to be delivered at least a month before sowing) but is also frequently dirty and may be contaminated with disease. Although the farmers may be mistaken in blaming the quality of the seed for some of the diseases which affect their crops, it is clearly essential for clean and disease free seed for gram and for the major crops in the area to be available in sufficient quantities.
2. Fertilizers may also be in short supply, and the avenue of distribution blocked. Subsidies are felt to be low and many farmers complain that they cannot afford to buy it.
3. Plant protection measures are only available on limited scale. Furthermore, the equipment necessary for using insecticides, weedcides and fungicides needs to be made more accessible.
4. Irrigation water is still often felt by farmers to be a problem. Much of the land in the command area of the canal is still not properly levelled, leading to waste of irrigation water. Proper cleaning of the irrigation channels is also not guaranteed. At the same time floods can still be a major problem. SCARP tubewells are widely felt not to be effectively used, especially during the peak demand season of June, July and August.

The land reforms on Bannu have faced further difficulties. Forgeries and changes in the documentation have been shown possible and indeed common. Through political influence and the use of their dominant social and economic position landlords have also been able to redistribute land among their relatives without suffering any real loss. In the documentary records their relatives may be shown as tillers of the land. These and other common practices may frustrate the object of the land reform measures. Table gives an indication of the limited extent to which the 1972 Land Reforms can be said to have touched agriculture in Bannu. When compared with the figures shown in Tables which show the pattern of distribution of land at the time of the 1960 agricultural Census of Pakistan, it becomes even clearer that the task remains virtually unstarted. That survey showed that less than 5% of the farms owned more than 36% of the land, and further that while only 12.5% of farms were larger than 25 acres they covered more than 60% of the total farm area. It is clear that the process of redistribution has hardly begun.

Table 26      Land reforms in Bannu Dt. MLR 115,1972

Total land declared	3146 acres
irrigated	2125
unirrigated	1021
Total land resumed	1280
irrigated	888
unirrigated	492
Landlords affected	6
Beneficiaries	254
Average land per beneficiary	5.4 acres

Source: Office of the Deputy Land Commissioner, Bannu



Table 27 Bannu District NWFP (Agriculture Sector)

		1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76
<u>1. Plant Protection</u>						
i. Ground operations						
(in acres)	(a) Curative measures	20060	14519	10003	13020	18500
	(b) Preventive measures	50029	59500	85900	104000	107000
	ii. Aerial spray (in spray acres)	10560	27007	32484	27020	12090
<u>2. Seed Distribution</u>						
(in maunds)	(a) Wheat	9600	651	737	1500	3959
	(b) Maize	37	500	500	322	25
	(c) Gram	-	150	307	-	-
<u>3. Fertilizer Distributed (in nutrient tons)</u>		044	857	776	273	519
<u>4. No of Tubewells Sunk (under subsidy schemes)</u>						
	(a) By Agri Eng Dept	-	-	-	-	10
	(b) By co-operative Dept	3	-	5	-	1
(in acres)	5. Land Levelled/Area Reclaimed	-	282	58	47	151
<u>6. Veterinary Hospitals</u>		NA	-	-	-	4
	(a) Centres	NA	-	-	-	3
	(b) Dispensaries	NA	-	-	2	2

Source: Government of NWFP P &amp; D Dept; Dev Profile 1972-76



Bannu Lowlands  
Fig 27 Site for New Airport (background)



Fig 28 Cultivated Land Damaged by Waterlogging and Salinity  
Near Ghorī Wali in The Kurram Gambila Doab

5. Despite rapid population increase there are still periodic labour shortages. It is possible that some mechanisation of harvesting might assist safeguard wheat from climatic hazards.

6. The infrastructure for irrigation development is still felt to be inadequate. The supply of power winches and rigs for boring tubewells is not guaranteed and is too limited for the scale of demand in the District.

7. Land levelling and land reclamation is hampered by the limited amount of large scale machinery available. There are only 16 bulldozers in the whole district, of which four are in the nearby tribal area (FATA).

8. As Figure 28 shows waterlogging and salinity are a major problem. They are spreading significantly, and the present area of 100 square miles affected is growing. The measures taken to combat them have not proved nearly adequate.

9. There are various problems with the marketing of produce. Turmeric, which is an important export crop from the region, cannot be processed by modern means within the District, lowering the value of the crop to local farmers.

10. Cattle remain extremely poor in quality, and special measures to improve stock like artificial insemination should be encouraged.

## Summary

This Chapter has discussed some of the practical problems that farmers in Bannu face today. It has been shown that while there have been important changes both in yield and cropping patterns many important problems remain.

We have found that in the Bannu lowlands the western and southern division saw the most rapid expansion in agricultural output during the 1960s . However, they differed in two important respects. First, in the western part most of the growth was contributed by factors other than the expansion of cropped area. However, in the southern division most of the growth was due to increased crop area. Secondly, in the former division the concentration of land ownership is low and small owner-operators are dominant, while in the latter there is a far higher degree of concentration with a landlord-tenant system prevailing.

A high concentration of land ownership in the Bannu Plains, as also in other areas of the North West Frontier Province, has had predictable effects on the scarcity of land and on the condition of tenants. Commercialisation of agriculture in most of the irrigated areas of the Plains has had a great bearing on the income earning opportunities of small and marginal owner-operators.

Some of these problems have influenced the nature of socio-economic change, and in particular the way in which different tribes have made use of agricultural and other economic opportunities. The next Chapter examines the pattern of population change in the Bannu Plains, which has been the other major influence on the socio-economic changes and tribal choices which form the subject of Chapter 8.

## CHAPTER 7

### Population and settlement

#### Introduction

It has already become apparent that it is impossible to separate the nature and problems of agricultural settlement in the Bannu lowlands from the question of population. Population growth, the regional and social distribution of the population and the characteristics of that population growth have played an important part in the settlement process.

From the point of view of agricultural settlement in the Bannu plains it is important to try and answer three basic questions. First, what has been the scale of population growth in the District ? Secondly, how has this growth related to trends in agriculture, not just of output and land use but of organisation? Thirdly, are there tribal differences in patterns of population growth which have had a bearing on their patterns of settlement?

It is not possible to answer some of these questions in a very sophisticated way, but it is possible to give a general picture. In answering them it is also possible to go on to ask related questions. How far, for example, has population growth been 'contained' either by agricultural extension or by occupational change? And how far has population growth led to migration? This Chapter makes use of Census data and data collected in the field to try and answer these questions.

### The pattern of population growth

The population of Bannu District according to the 1972 census stood at 568,000 persons. The area was surveyed at 1695.381 square miles. As such the density of population per square mile comes to 335. The population of North West Frontier Province in the year 1972 was enumerated at 8,402,00 persons. Thus the population of Bannu District amounted to 6.7 per cent of the total province population. Bannu District represents 5.8 per cent of the total area of the NWF Province. The figures of the density of population of the area under discussion and North West Frontier Province of which it is a component part run almost parallel. Thus whereas density of population of NWF Province is recorded at 292, it is 335 in Bannu District.

Table 28 . Population, Area and Density of Population

Province/District	Pop in Thousands	Area (sq miles)	Density of Pop
NWFP	8402	28772.66	292
Bannu	568	1695.381	335

Source: Development Statistics of NWFP, P & D Dept Govt of NWFP

The population of Bannu District has soared as high as 568 thousand in 1972 as compared with 375,299 in 1961. Though the magnitude of population or aggregate number of persons do not appear to be much larger in isolation or as regard population density, yet the rate of variation is indeed alarming. The

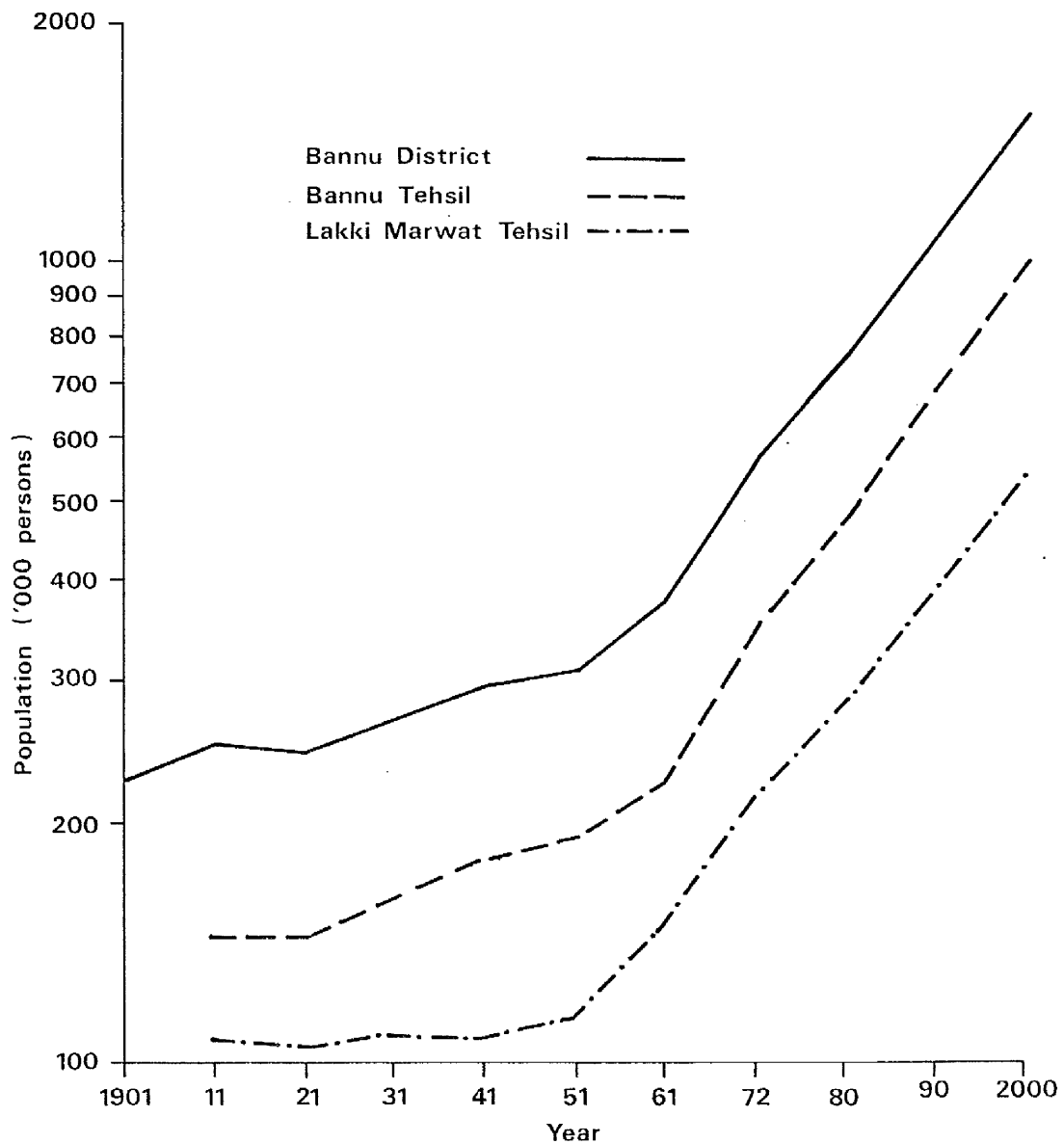


Figure 29 POPULATION GROWTH TRENDS BY TEHSIL, 1901-2000, BANNU DISTRICT, N.W.F.P., PAKISTAN.

Source: Department of Geography, University of Peshawar

high rate of increase during the period 1961-72, corresponds to the general picture of population growth in the underdeveloped and backward countries, regions or sub-component areas. However the average rate of increase during the years 1961-72, may be said to have surpassed all the preceding records, and represents mounting pressures of socio-cultural forces in operation (Table 29). Thus the entire edifice of birth control schemes, and high costs incurred on the family planning programmes seem to have been a virtually complete failure. The rate of economic progress cannot keep pace with such rapidly upward moving trends of population growth particularly in the Bannu District, which lagged far behind in the realm of agriculture and industrial development. Vis-a-vis such rapid and high rate of population growth the industrial, agricultural or for that matter any other socio-economic sector fails to absorb the swelling flood of population. The few industrial units operating in the Bannu District cannot absorb the heavy influx of the population released from agricultural land. Thus unless and until a broad socio-economic base is available, or large scale industrialisation plans are implemented, the high rate of population growth must be regarded as anything but a healthy sign for socio-economic progress. Further owing to mounting pressures of population on land, heavy outflow of out migrants takes place. From Bannu the labour force released from land now moves to comparatively developed industrial zones of the country such as Karachi, Faisalabad, Islamabad and Multan. During the last decade a large number of this unskilled labour force set off to the Middle East and Saudi Arabia due to the lack of employment opportunities at home. More specifically, under the



Table 29

Bannu District, Population Variation by Tehsils: 1901-72

Year	Bannu District Population	Bannu District Variation	Bannu Tehsil Population	Bannu Tehsil Variation	Lakki Tehsil Population	Lakki Tehsil Variation
1901	226,801	-	-	-	-	-
1911	250,081	10.26	142,311	-	107,775	-
1921	246,734	-1.34	142,535	0.16	104,199	-3.32
1931	270,301	9.55	161,882	13.57	108,419	4.05
1941	295,930	9.48	187,598	15.89	108,332	-0.08
1951	307,453	3.89	193,359	3.07	114,094	5.32
1961	375,299	22.06	226,850	17.32	148,449	30.11
1972	567,219	51.14	350,629	54.56	216,590	45.90

Source: Census reports of NWFP 1951 and 1931 and District Census 1961 and 1972 (Bannu)

semi-capitalistic mode of production there is widespread unemployment in Bannu area. Under such a system of production and exchange, the motivating force is profit maximisation making extensive use of labour saving devices. Such self-oriented private objectives are markedly pitched against the social interest of the society.

In Bannu District population reached 375,299 persons in the 1961 census of population as compared to 303,046 in 1951, the population increased to 568,000 persons in 1972. During 1951-61 the average annual rate of growth was 2.2 per cent. During the years 1961-72 the average annual rate of variation more than doubled and arrived at 4.6 per cent, which imposes heavy strains when taking into account the backward socio-economic structure and capitalistic structure in Bannu District.

The sex structure of the population is vitally important (Tables 30&31).

In the socially backward area of Bannu the participation of the female population in active and gainful economic activity is negligible. Almost 100 per cent of the industrial labour force and quite a large proportion of rural workers consist of male population. Thus the rate of female employment in the economic activity is meagre and a large portion of economic surplus is consumed by the female population who contribute little directly to the economy. But the trouble lies not with the female population. Their dormant role is a natural corollary of the socio-economic system and totality of <sup>its</sup> backward social heritage.

Table 30  
Bannu District, Sex Ratio by Tehsil 1951-1972<sup>†</sup>

Locality	Male per Thousand Female		
	1951	1961	1972
Bannu Tehsil	1150	1089	1088
Lakki Tehsil	1145	1104	1101
Bannu District	1152	1102	1093

Source: 1. NWFP Census Report of 1951 (Bannu)  
2. District Census Report of 1961 and 1972

1. It should be noted that women may be significantly under-enumerated in Bannu and the North-West Frontier Province generally.

In Bannu the change of the socio-economic set up or the reformation in the stagnant and dismal social attitudes and values would go a long way in converting the inactive role of female populace into active, positive and gainfully employed workers.<sup>1</sup>

Table 31 Population Density by Sex, Bannu District

Year	Total pop both sexes	Males	Females	Density
1951	329,959	176,649	153,310	162
1961	428,061	224,421	203,640	210
1972	568,000	279,000	271,000	335

Figures for 1951 & 1961 includes special area under the Deputy Commissioner Bannu

In Bannu District almost 90 per cent of the population depends on agriculture. An attempt to analyse both agricultural and industrial zones together, and thus measure the overall population density will not reveal the real intricacies of pressure of population either on agriculture or on industry. Averages will no doubt generalise the matter but conceal the various socio-economic categories. Secondly the agricultural population is never spread evenly over an entire region, so that the aggregates or averages have limited meaning even when they are confined to the agricultural population. Thirdly there are great differences between regions in the proportion of land that is cultivated or is cultivable. Fourthly there are differences in crop patterns and agricultural techniques employed. These points are illustrated in Tables 32 - 33.

1. It can be observed of course that without significant growth in the economy it may prove impossible for them to find work even if they look for it.

Table 32  
Population By Tehsils Bannu District 1972

Locality	Area (sq miles)	% Share	Population (no of persons)	% Share
Bannu District	1695	100	567219	100
Bannu Tehsil	473	27.90	350629	61.80
Lakki Tehsil	1222	72.10	216590	38.20

Source: District Census Report 1972 (Bannu)

Table 33  
Density of Population by Tehsils, Bannu District (1951-1972)

Locality	Area (sq miles)	Population Density			Difference in Density	
		1951	1961	1972	1951-61	1961-72
Bannu District	1695	181	221	335	40	114
Bannu Tehsil	473	409	480	741	73	261
Lakki Tehsil	1222	93	121	177	28	56

Source: 1. Census report of NWFP 1951  
2. District census reports of Bannu 1961 and 1972

Table 34  
Growth of Population By Tehsils, Bannu District 1961-72

Locality	Population		Difference 1961-72	Annual Growth Rate
	1961	1972		
Bannu Tehsil	226850	350629	123779	3.8
Lakki Tehsil	148449	216590	68141	3.2
Bannu District	375299	567219	191920	3.6

Source: District census report of Bannu 1972

To remove or reduce the inadequacies or the obstacles inherent in the above technique of measuring population density, one can contemplate various other aspects of the problem related to the concept of population density:

- i) Relating total population to the cultivated area or cultivable area.
- ii) Relating rural population to cultivated or cultivable area.
- iii) Establishing the relationship between agricultural labour force to the cultivated area.

Likewise other aspects may be envisaged to measure population density. But since the study area continues to be predominantly agricultural the above relationship would be the most relevant. However the density of population so measured does not take into account either the scope for expansion in the cultivated area or the quality of the cultivated or cultivable land.

#### Breakup of Rural and Urban Population

The economy of Bannu district being predominantly agricultural, the ratio of rural population to that of urban population is considerably higher. Whereas in 1951 as high as 88% of population was recorded as rural, in 1961 the percentage ratio of rural to urban population came to 89.1. Due to the slow process of industrial growth, as yet, quite a large number of people reside in rural areas, though far below subsistence level. The following table is indicative of the breakup of population into urban/rural areas.

Table 35  
Urban and Rural Population (1951-1961) Number of Persons, Bannu District

Year	Urban Population			Rural Population		
	Both Sexes	Variation in		Both Sexes	Variation in	
		1961 over 1951			1961 over 1951	
	Total	No	%	Total	No	%
1951	36,270	-	-	271,123	-	-
1961	41,074	4,804	13.25	334,225	63,102	23.27

(Excluding special area of Bannu District under Deputy Commissioner)

Source: Population Census Report (1961)

The above Table shows that the rate of growth of the rural population is almost double that of the urban population. While the average annual rate of population growth stood at 1.32% in the urban areas, it was 2.32% in rural areas during the period 1951-1961. In terms of the growth in absolute numbers of people during the 1951-1961 period we find that the urban population increased by 4,804, while the rural population increased by 63,102.

The contrast between urban and rural growth rates is very striking in itself. It suggests that at least during the 1951-1961 period Bannu's experience was different from that in some other parts of Pakistan and in many areas of India, where rural population grew more slowly than urban population.

The reasons may lie partly in demographic factors, partly in the economic structure and partly in social conditions. Tables to set out the age-sex structure of Bannu District and its component tehsils in terms of rural and urban characteristics. The data are not very reliable and it has not proved possible here to undertake a detailed demographic analysis. However, by examining the age-sex cohorts shown by the 1972 Census it is possible to suggest some tentative conclusions as to possible underlying causes of the contrasts.

The first point is the very small difference in the population of the age group 10 - 19 between rural and urban areas. As this broadly comprises the population born in the decade 1951-1961, its distribution might be expected to give some clue as to relative birth rates.

Table 36  
Bannu District, Population by Ages and Sex, 1972

Age Group	Both Sexes	% Share	Male	% Share	Female	% Share
0 - 4	84245	14.85	39917	13.48	44328	16.36
5 - 9	102281	18.03	53159	17.95	49122	18.12
10 - 14	72678	12.81	39879	13.46	32799	12.10
15 - 19	48025	8.47	26148	8.83	21877	8.07
20 - 24	38279	6.75	19796	6.68	18483	6.82
25 - 29	40495	7.14	21304	7.19	19191	7.08
30 - 34	34627	6.10	18091	6.11	16536	6.10
35 - 39	26887	4.74	13756	4.64	13131	4.84
40 - 44	27885	4.92	14238	4.81	13647	5.04
45 - 49	22098	3.89	11347	3.83	10751	3.97
50 - 54	23133	4.08	12342	4.17	10791	3.98
55 - 59	12066	2.13	6357	2.15	5709	2.11
60 - 64	15973	2.82	8852	2.99	7121	2.63
65 - 69	6417	1.13	3625	1.22	2792	1.03
70 - 74	6708	1.18	4046	1.37	2662	0.98
75+	5422	0.96	3332	1.12	2090	0.77
All Ages	567219	100.00	296189	100.00	271030	100.00

Source: District Census Report 1972 (Bannu)

Table 37  
Bannu District, Rural Population by Age and Sex Groups 1972

Age Group	Both sexes	% Share	Male	% Share	Female	% Share
0-4	75911	14.92	35886	13.59	40105	16.36
5-9	92950	18.26	48349	18.31	44601	18.20
10-14	65388	12.84	35897	13.60	29491	12.03
15-19	42008	8.25	22787	8.63	19222	7.84
20-24	33495	6.58	17144	6.49	16351	6.67
25-29	35875	7.05	18592	7.04	17283	7.05
30-34	30736	6.04	15798	5.98	14938	6.10
35-39	23929	4.70	12003	4.55	11926	4.87
40-44	24906	4.89	12474	4.73	12432	5.07
45-49	19915	3.91	9978	3.78	9937	4.05
50-54	21007	4.13	11054	4.19	9953	4.06
55-59	11087	2.18	5860	2.20	5281	2.15
60-64	14618	2.87	8032	3.04	6586	2.69
65-69	5927	1.16	3341	1.27	2386	1.06
70-74	6201	1.22	3739	1.42	2462	1.00
75+	5069	1.00	3112	1.18	1957	0.80
All ages	509103	100.00	263992	100.00	245111	100.00

Source: District census report 1972 (Bannu)

Table 38  
Bannu District, Urban Population by Age and Sex 1972

Age group	Both sexes	% Share	Male	% Share	Female	% Share
0-4	8254	14.20	4031	12.52	4223	16.29
5-9	9331	16.06	4810	14.94	4521	17.44
10-14	7290	12.54	3982	12.37	3308	12.76
15-19	6016	10.35	3361	10.44	2655	10.24
20-24	4784	8.23	2652	8.24	2132	8.23
25-29	4620	7.95	2712	8.42	1908	7.36
30-34	3891	6.70	2293	7.12	1598	6.17
35-39	2958	5.09	1753	5.45	1205	4.65
40-44	2979	5.13	1764	5.48	1215	4.69
45-49	2183	3.76	1369	4.25	814	3.14
50-54	2126	3.66	1288	4.00	838	3.23
55-59	979	1.68	551	1.71	428	1.65
60-64	1355	2.33	820	2.55	535	2.07
65-69	490	0.84	284	0.88	206	0.80
70-74	507	0.87	307	0.95	200	0.77
75+	353	0.61	220	0.68	133	0.51
All ages	58116	100.00	32197	100.00	25919	100.00

Source: District census report 1972 (Bannu)

Table 39  
Bannu Tehsil, Population by Age and Sex 1972

Age group	Both sexes	% Share	Male	% Share	Female	% Share
0-4	53723	15.32	25206	13.80	28517	16.98
5-9	63820	18.20	33282	18.22	30538	18.18
10-14	44976	12.83	24739	13.54	20237	12.05
15-19	29176	8.32	15970	8.74	13296	7.86
20-24	23936	6.83	12299	6.73	11637	6.93
25-29	25341	7.23	13234	7.25	12102	7.21
30-34	21585	6.16	11312	6.19	10273	6.12
35-39	16653	4.75	8481	4.64	8172	4.87
40-44	17132	4.89	8897	4.87	8235	4.90
45-49	13176	3.75	6706	3.67	6470	3.85
50-54	13770	3.93	7355	4.03	6415	3.82
55-59	6707	1.91	3416	1.87	3291	1.96
60-64	9499	2.71	5216	2.86	4283	2.55
65-69	3606	1.03	2027	1.11	1579	0.94
70-74	4001	1.14	2399	1.31	1602	0.95
75 +	3528	1.00	2132	1.17	1396	0.83
Total	350629	100.00	182676	100.00	167953	100.00

Source: District census report 1972 (Bannu).



Table 40  
Lakki Tehsil, Population by age and sex 1972

Age Group	Both sexes	% Share	Male	% Share	Female	% Share
0-4	30522	14.09	14711	12.96	15811	15.34
5-9	38461	17.76	19877	17.51	18584	18.03
10-14	27702	12.79	15140	13.34	12562	12.19
15-19	18849	8.70	10178	8.97	8671	8.41
20-24	14343	6.62	7497	6.60	6846	6.64
25-29	15154	7.00	8065	7.10	7089	6.88
30-34	13042	6.02	6779	5.97	6263	6.07
35-39	10234	4.73	5275	4.65	4959	4.81
40-44	10753	4.96	5341	4.71	5412	5.25
45-49	8922	4.12	4641	4.09	4281	4.15
50-54	9363	4.32	4987	4.39	4376	4.25
55-59	5359	2.47	2941	2.59	2418	2.35
60-64	6474	2.99	3636	3.20	2838	2.75
65-69	2811	1.30	1598	1.41	1213	1.18
70-74	2707	1.25	1647	1.45	1060	1.03
75 +	1894	0.88	1200	1.06	694	0.67
All ages	216590	100.00	113513	100.00	103077	100.00

Source: District census report 1972 (Bannu).

Table 41  
Lakki Tehsil, Rural Population by age and sex 1972

Age group	Both sexes	% Share	Male	% Share	Female	% Share
0-4	28670	14.18	13784	13.01	14886	15.46
5-9	36172	17.98	18740	17.69	17432	18.10
10-14	25857	12.78	14129	13.34	11728	12.18
15-19	17325	8.57	9376	8.85	7949	8.25
20-24	13177	6.52	6908	6.52	6269	6.50
25-29	14082	6.96	7485	7.08	6597	6.85
30-34	12195	6.03	6315	5.96	5880	6.11
35-39	9529	4.71	4882	4.61	4647	4.83
40-44	10024	4.96	4972	4.69	5052	5.25
45-49	8366	4.14	4303	4.06	4063	4.22
50-54	8758	4.33	4661	4.40	4097	4.25
55-59	5066	2.50	2771	2.62	2295	2.38
60-64	6061	3.00	3411	3.22	2650	2.75
65-69	2639	1.30	1504	1.42	1135	1.18
70-74	2542	1.26	1555	1.47	987	1.02
75 +	1768	0.87	1125	1.06	643	0.67
All ages	202231	100.00	105921	100.00	96310	100.00

Source: District census report 1972 (Bannu).

Table 42  
Bannu Tehsil, Rural Population by age and sex 1972

Age Group	Both sexes	% Share	Male	% Share	Female	% Share
0-4	47321	15.42	22102	13.98	25219	16.95
5-9	56778	18.50	29609	18.73	27169	18.26
10-14	39531	12.88	21768	13.78	17763	11.94
15-19	24684	8.05	13411	8.48	11273	7.58
20-24	20318	6.03	10236	6.48	10082	6.77
25-29	21793	7.10	11107	7.03	10686	7.18
30-34	18541	6.04	9483	6.00	9058	6.09
35-39	14400	4.69	7121	4.50	7279	4.89
40-44	14882	4.85	7502	4.75	7380	4.96
45-49	11549	3.76	5675	3.59	5874	3.95
50-54	12249	3.99	6393	4.04	5856	3.94
55-59	6021	1.96	3035	1.92	2986	2.00
60-64	8557	2.79	4621	2.92	3936	2.64
65-69	3288	1.07	1837	1.16	1451	0.98
70-74	3659	1.19	2184	1.38	1475	0.99
75 +	3301	1.08	1987	1.26	1314	0.88
All ages	306872	100.00	158071	100.00	148801	100.00

Source: District census report 1972 (Bannu).

Table 43  
Bannu Tehsil, Urban Population by age and sex 1972.

Age Group	Both sexes	% Share	Male	% Share	Female	% Share
0-4	6402	14.63	3104	12.61	3298	17.22
5-9	7042	16.09	3673	14.93	3369	17.59
10-14	5445	12.44	2971	12.08	2474	12.92
15-19	4492	10.27	2559	10.40	1933	10.09
20-24	3618	8.27	2063	8.38	1555	8.12
25-29	3548	8.40	2132	8.66	1416	7.39
30-34	3044	6.96	1829	7.43	1215	6.34
35-39	2253	5.15	1360	5.53	893	4.66
40-44	2250	5.14	1395	5.68	855	4.46
45-49	1627	3.72	1031	4.19	596	3.11
50-54	5121	3.48	962	3.91	559	2.92
55-59	686	1.56	381	1.55	305	1.59
60-64	942	2.15	593	2.42	347	1.81
65-69	318	0.73	190	0.77	128	0.67
70-74	342	0.78	215	0.87	127	0.66
75 +	227	0.52	145	0.59	82	0.43
All ages	43757	100.00	24605	100.00	19152	100.00

Source: District census report 1972 (Bannu).



Fig 30 A View of Bannu City



Fig 31 Typical 'Naghan' (Bread Oven in Bannu Household)

Table 44 BANNU DISTRICT. Urban Population (10 years and above) by age, sex and marital status 1972

Age group	Male		Male		Female		Female	
	Married	% Share	Unmarried	% Share	Married	% Share	Unmarried	% Share
10-14	19	0.17	3963	32.91	66	0.71	3242	41.00
15-19	226	1.99	3135	26.04	796	8.59	1859	23.51
20-24	721	6.66	1911	15.87	1404	15.14	728	9.21
25-29	1565	13.83	1447	9.53	1595	17.21	313	3.96
30-34	1751	15.48	542	4.50	1404	15.15	194	2.45
35-39	1484	13.11	270	2.24	1069	11.58	136	1.72
40-44	1509	13.34	255	2.12	1034	11.16	181	2.29
45-49	1218	10.76	151	1.25	653	7.05	161	2.04
50-54	1086	9.60	202	1.68	560	6.04	278	3.52
55-59	464	4.10	87	0.72	283	3.05	145	1.83
60-64	668	5.90	152	1.26	235	2.54	300	3.79
65-69	229	2.02	55	0.46	86	0.93	120	1.52
70-74	218	1.93	89	0.74	48	0.52	152	1.92
75+	138	1.22	82	0.68	35	0.38	98	1.24
All ages	11315	100.00	12041	100.00	9268	100.00	7907	100.00

Source: District census report 1972 (Bannu)

Table 45  
Lakki Tehsil, Urban Population by age and sex 1972

Age group	Both sexes	% Share	Male	% Share	Female	% Share
0-4	1852	12.90	927	12.21	925	13.67
5-9	2289	15.94	1137	14.98	1152	17.02
10-14	1845	12.85	1011	13.32	834	12.32
15-19	1524	10.61	802	10.56	722	10.67
20-24	1166	8.12	589	7.76	577	8.53
25-29	1072	7.47	580	7.64	492	7.27
30-34	847	5.90	464	6.11	383	5.66
35-39	705	4.91	393	5.18	312	4.61
40-44	729	5.08	369	4.86	360	5.32
45-49	556	3.87	338	4.45	218	3.22
50-54	605	4.21	326	4.29	279	4.13
55-59	293	2.04	170	2.24	123	1.82
60-64	413	2.87	225	2.96	188	2.78
65-69	172	1.20	94	1.24	78	1.15
70-74	165	1.15	92	1.21	73	1.08
75 +	126	0.88	75	0.99	51	0.75
All ages	14359	100.00	7529	100.00	6767	100.00

Source: District census report 1972 (Bannu).

Table 46 BANNU DISTRICT. Population (10 years and above) by age, sex and marital status 1972

Age group	Male		Male		Female		Female	
	Married	% Share	Unmarried	% Share	Married	% Share	Unmarried	% Share
10-14	183	0.18	39696	38.46	441	0.44	32358	42.32
15-19	1845	1.85	24303	23.55	5978	5.91	15899	20.79
20-24	5737	5.74	14059	13.62	12609	12.47	5874	7.68
25-29	12500	12.51	8804	8.53	16213	16.03	2978	3.90
30-34	13831	13.84	4260	4.13	14593	14.43	1943	2.54
35-39	11756	11.77	2000	1.94	11856	11.73	1275	1.67
40-44	12370	12.38	1868	1.81	11698	11.57	1949	2.55
45-49	10098	10.11	1249	1.21	9103	9.00	1648	2.16
50-54	10672	10.68	1670	1.62	77769	7.68	3022	3.95
55-59	5459	5.46	898	0.87	4088	4.04	1621	2.12
60-64	7219	7.23	1633	1.58	3625	3.59	3496	4.57
65-69	2897	2.90	728	0.71	1460	1.44	1332	1.74
70-74	3036	3.04	1010	0.98	962	0.95	1700	2.23
75+	2312	2.31	1020	0.99	726	0.72	1364	1.78
All ages	99915	100.00	103198	100.00	101121	100.00	76459	100.00

Source: District census reports 1972 (Bannu)

Table 47 BANNU DISTRICT. Rural Population (10 years and above) by age, sex and marital status 1972

Age group	Male		Male		Female		Female	
	Married	% Share	Unmarried	% Share	Married	% Share	Unmarried	% Share
10-14	164	0.19	35733	39.20	375	0.41	29116	42.47
15-19	1619	1.83	22168	23.22	5183	5.64	14040	20.48
20-24	4996	5.64	12148	13.33	11205	12.20	5146	7.51
25-29	10935	12.34	7657	8.40	14618	15.91	2665	3.89
30-34	12080	13.63	3718	4.08	13189	14.36	1749	2.55
35-39	10273	11.60	1730	1.90	10787	11.74	1139	1.66
40-45	10861	12.26	1613	1.77	10664	11.61	1768	2.58
45-49	8880	10.02	1098	1.20	8450	9.20	1487	2.17
50-54	9586	10.82	1468	1.61	7209	7.85	2744	4.00
55-59	4995	5.64	811	0.89	3805	4.14	1476	2.15
60-64	6551	7.39	1481	1.62	3390	3.69	3196	4.66
65-69	2868	3.01	673	0.74	1374	1.50	1212	1.77
70-74	2818	3.18	921	1.01	914	1.00	1548	2.26
75+	2174	2.45	938	1.03	691	0.75	1266	1.85
All ages	88600	100.00	91157	100.00	91853	100.00	68552	100.00

Source: District census report 1972 (Bannu)

during that period, assuming that there was no significant net migration for that age group. That assumption may of course be invalid, but there are no data available with which it can be tested. However, if the population in the age groups 0 - 14 are examined, it can be seen that in 1972 just over 45% of the rural population was in that category while just under 43% of the urban population was 14 or under. This might suggest that during the latter part of the 1951-1961 decade up to 1972 the birth rate in rural areas was slightly higher than that in urban areas.

Without much more detailed evidence and analysis both of migration patterns and of different adoption rates for family planning it is impossible to judge between them as factors in producing the relatively and absolutely greater growth in rural areas than in towns. However, it could be argued that given the small size of the towns in Bannu and the very limited economic opportunities in the urban areas of the District, most of the rural-urban migration has taken place to towns and cities outside the District altogether. Certainly there has been a lot of emigration to Karachi and to the Gulf States. Such migration has also been taking place from Bannu town itself, thereby contributing to a relatively slow growth rate in recent years. In the early period after Independence the emigration of all the Hindus from the town also reduced the population, and although their place was taken by immigrants from India many of these failed to settle permanently.

### Literacy

The concept of literacy as defined by the 1961 Census is 'able to read with understanding'. The definition is vague, since it fails to specify what type of material, books, documents or literature pertains to the ability to read with understanding. For instance, students who pass primary grade may be categorised as those who may read the ordinary newspapers, letters or simple stories. However, they cannot understand articles about any more complex

aspect of life, where frequent use is made of technical jargon.

Table 48  
Literate Persons by Sex in Bannu District (1961)

Sex	Total Population	No of Literates	Literates As % of Total Population
1. Both sexes	375,299	32,764	8.73
2. Males	196,168	30,343	15.47
3. Females	179,131	2,421	1.35

Source: District Census Report Bannu (1961)

The literacy rate of both sexes is too low, and presents a gloomy picture even when compared with the literacy rate of Pakistan. The ratio of literates to the total population comes to 8.73%, but the ratio included females too. And when the neglected community of females is considered, the matter assumes quite a sad shape: the female literates in Bannu are as low as 1.35 per cent of the total population. The percentage of the literate males to total population stood out at 15.47. Thus whereas the masses in general are virtually deprived of the avenues of education even at primary level. the female community is too alarmingly fettered by the chains of ignorance and illiteracy. The lack of educational facilities and socio-cultural backwardness within the specific and general contours of the prevailing capitalistic system has led to such an appalling shape of things.

The following tables indicate the breakup of population into rural/urban literacy levels. And such a breakup carries significant socio-economic implications in the sub-region composed

of higher ratio of rural to urban population. The literate persons are classified into three categories ie able to write, able to read, able to read Holy Quran. Although the classification seems arbitrary and unclear, even then the facts depicted there present an unfavourable posture of the situation, more so, the percentage of illiterates form quite a large percentage of the total population, especially in the rural areas. In the rural areas, the illiterates form 74% of the total population and 83% of the rural population.

Table 49  
Literacy Position in Bannu District, Urban Areas (1961)

Particulars of Literacy	All Areas	Urban Areas		
	Population No of Persons	No of Persons	Percentage of Total Pop	Percentage of Urban Pop
1. Total	375,299	41,074	10.8	-
2. Able to Write		10,222	3	25
3. Able to Read		554	0.16	1.4
4. Able to Read Holy Quran		2,298	1.15	10.4
5. Illiterates		26,000	7	63

Source: Census of Pakistan 1961

Table 50 Literacy Position in Bannu District Rural Areas (1961)

Particulars of Literacy	All Areas		Rural Areas	
	Population No of Persons	No of Persons	Percentage of Total Pop	Percentage of Rural Pop
1. Total	375,299	334,225	89.2	-
2. Able to Read		19,980	5.0	6
3. Able to Write		2,008	0.53	0.6
4. Able to Read Holy Quran		35,988	9.6	10.7
5. Illiterates		276,249	74.0	83.0

Source: Census of Pakistan 1961

The criterion for determining the number of literates as given in the census report evidently does not equip us to envisage the exact magnitude and quality of the manpower that can be gainfully employed in the socio-economic activities paving the path of economic progress.

Table 51 Literate (10 Years and Above) Persons and % Share of Population, Bannu District 1972

Locality	Population	Literate	% Share of Literate	% Share of Population
Urban	40581	14155	26.94	34.92
Rural	340162	38389	73.26	11.88
	380693	52544	100.00	13.80

Source: District Census Report 1972 (Bannu)

For instance the persons who can read and write or read the Holy Quran without understanding, are not necessarily the ones who may be called suitable human capital when put to scientific or objective scrutiny from numerous angles. To substantiate this it may be pointed out that the manpower required for the sound socio-economic progress in a technico-organisational setting within a given economic unit does not need the literate personnel as defined in the population census. Modern technology set up in its various socio-economic segments requires as a sine qua non technically skilled manpower well conversant with the intricate and sophisticated processes of production, distribution, organisation and management.



## Summary

The pattern of settlement in the Bannu Plains is affected to a significant degree by the general pattern of population growth. In this Chapter we have seen how trends of population growth since Independence have put increasing pressure on agricultural land and resources. This pressure is not just a question of numbers. The figures presented suggest that in terms of the skills of the labour force and even in terms of basic literacy the rapid rate of population growth poses enormous problems.

The pressure has been accommodated by three major developments. Growing numbers of people from Bannu are looking for economic opportunities outside the Plains, in Karachi and in the Gulf States. At the same time, others are looking for work in new forms of employment within the Bannu region. Although industrial employment is still very limited it is attracting local labour. Thirdly, there is both intensification of agriculture and extension of the cultivated area.

These responses both to population growth and to new economic opportunities are not identical among the main tribal groups. Unfortunately the secondary data available on population do not allow us to distinguish between tribes in terms of their rates of population increase or in terms of their changing economic occupations. Thus in the next Chapter we turn to village level studies in which some of these questions can be taken further.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE AND TRIBAL CHOICES IN THE BANNU PLAINSIntroduction

As has been made clear in the previous Chapters the agriculture of the Bannuchi, Wazir and Marwat villages corresponds to the form of a mixed subsistence economy. The cropping pattern in many of the villages of the Plains, however, including those studied in this Chapter, include a number of cash crops, even though the villagers still tend towards a subsistence economy rather than a market economy. The production of cash crops goes back to the imposition of land and water charges, which virtually enforced sales of produce on the market.

In the villages of Kakki, Naurang, Mamash Khel, Hinjal and Daud Shah studied in the village survey, and in many others in the Plains, the old subsistence economy is greatly influenced by tradition, custom and habit. In this connection the question arises whether, with the transition to a market economy, other motivation has exerted a stronger influence and whether more rational principles in the business organisation with different tribal choices have become customary or whether traditional practices can yet be done without.

From the field investigations in different tribal villages it is clear that changes in cropping patterns do reflect rational reactions to market impulses. In addition other developments illustrate the way in which such changes enable the possibilities created by new conditions to be utilised.

In western Bannu, for example, a large acreage was brought under wheat cultivation after the introduction of the Marwat Canal irrigation scheme. Wheat is more remunerative under the irrigated conditions of the Bannu Plains than in the Waziri hill areas, and there is a great demand for such land from Wazir

families in Waziristan for their newly acquired lands in the Bannu Plains. A second example is given by sugar growing. After the establishment of Bannu sugar mills the cultivation of sugar cane was greatly extended at the expense of the area grown with forage. Favourable conditions for garlic, onion and turmeric growing resulting from existing irrigation facilities and available marketing channels caused an intensive cultivation of such cash crops in Central Bannu ie Kurram Gambila Doab.

#### Socio-economic Factors Encouraging Tribal Ties

The comparative hesitance of the Bannu peasants in adopting innovations is certainly due in part to the principle of security in the subsistence economy. The owner of a larger holding is able to make experiments on part of his land. If the trial fails the yield of the residual area will be sufficient to meet his requirements. On small holdings, which form the majority, the owners cannot afford to make such experiments. A negative outcome would ruin the basis of subsistence. However many innovations carry risks at first and have to be proved under local conditions. A new variety of wheat may be more productive than the common variety but it might completely fail in a year with unusual weather conditions so that the livelihood would not be secured. In a subsistence economy such things as farm organisation or the variety of crops sown are such that high yields are seldom arrived at, but complete crop failures also rarely occur. The factors of the subsistence economy are, so to speak, in equilibrium, even if at a low level.

This equilibrium is disturbed when isolated changes of any kind take place. The residents of the villages studied can report examples of trials of isolated innovation. In one village the land cultivators gave an account of the unsuccessful efforts to introduce a new high yielding variety of wheat despite the higher yields obtained. In the village economy, wheat serves to a large extent to cover the direct or indirect (payment of the adopted and agricultural labourers, rents etc) personal requirement of the population. For this purpose, however, the new variety proved unsuitable. The chapatis-'Naghan'-prepared in the usual manner became tough and sticky. Although this could be avoided by mixing different sorts of flour, the necessary conditions do not exist in the village, and in view of the village technology the variety is not adequate irrespective of its other qualities.

In another village for instance, the agricultural extension service promoted the cultivation of high yielding hybrid maize instead of the low yielding local variety. The trials actually brought higher yields. Nevertheless, the hybrid maize has not been able to gain ground. Maize is grown primarily for personal consumption for making maize bread 'dedi', and only in the second place for sales or for feeding. Bread made of hybrid maize tasted bad by comparison with those of the local variety. Thus the maize variety grown lacks an essential prerequisite, namely the suitability for flour for bread. In an economy still characterised by considerations of subsistence, the introduction of hybrid maize under these circumstances will be promising only if the maize is to be produced for the market and if at the same time suitable marketing channels are opened. Hybrid maize is not suited for the subsistence economy unless it is used for

feeding livestock. It is a culture of the market economy and should only be introduced on that basis.

These two examples reveal that changes in the subsistence economy mostly demand and entail further changes. Innovations frequently involve changes in technology. The individual holding or household, however, is not in a position to put the innovation to use because it has neither the necessary knowledge nor means of its disposal. Therefore changes must be induced from outside; normally they are initiated by the government, not as a single measure but with due consideration to the accompanying essential changes. The individual land cultivator cannot exceed the scope of existing technology: within these limits his modes of behaviour are quite rational and in accordance with the aim of his subsistence economy. The extent of these changes is necessarily limited as well. Villages in Marwat also give examples of advance development of agriculture despite an institutional framework in which the periodical redistribution of land - 'vesh' - , which might be expected to retard innovativeness, is an integral part.

In western Bannu among Waziri settlers many holdings have been reorganised as part-time farms. Such farms, which contribute only part of the family's income, no longer constitute the sole or even the most important source of livelihood, and consequently farmers are not so tied to their farms for producing a bare subsistence. In this region of the Bannu Plains the danger of crop failure has been greatly reduced by the opening of the Marwat Canal irrigation system, bring regular water supply.

Accordingly production no longer needs to be adjusted to the requirements of self sufficiency but can be adapted, without qualification, to the market situation, the employment opportunities and other factors.

Commercialisation is particularly strong in Hinjal, and Mamash Khel Sadat, /Mashar Daudshah where the cultivation of forage crops, fresh vegetables and fruits for sale on the market in the neighbouring Bannu town is much preferred to self sufficiency in staple foods. 81% of the holdings in this central Bannu area grows these garden vegetables, fruits and forage crops for sale. 19% grows maize and rice.

A still higher degree of the commercialisation of land is given when the landowner grows only the remunerative forage crops during one season and leaves the land use to the tenant during the other season. In agrarian villages of Bannu (Frontier Region) and Lakki subdivision including area of Landidak down Naurer the lessors are exclusively persons with large estates and are those who were not in a position to manage the holdings themselves for family reasons or health grounds. In Central Bannu especially Nar area large estate owners are from Niazi Khans now settled in Mianwali and Isa Khel. In the villages which are under industrial influence it may happen that the land owners lease all their landed property or reduce the farm area to an extent that would require other receipts. There are even occurrences in Sarai-Naurang, Shinkandi of land sales to one's relatives.

Such phenomena are only conceivable when there are alternative possibilities of subsistence. As soon as these seem to be more desirable than the previous ones based on agriculture, institutional barriers such as tribal codes and traditions will be overcome. However the objective presence of alternative subsistence does not account for such decision alone. In order to effect a breakup of the institutions it is furthermore essential that people within the tribal group who have almost unlimited powers of decision, namely the chiefs or 'maliks', should perceive that occupational opportunities which conform to traditional ways of life are exhausted. As soon as people in landowning classes no longer possess land, or not enough land, and are compelled to look for other occupational opportunities, the traditional village organisation breaks up. This is naturally started with economically weaker Marwat members among the traditional tribal society. As a result of such changes Marwats in particular and Bannuchis in general have begun to achieve economic success outside traditional village organisation. These trends have been an essential stimulus to socio-economic movement, and it is possible to see evidence of new forms of social and economic competition beginning to emerge in the Bannu lowlands.

In the still widely-prevailing subsistence economy a rigid occupational structure prevails. The majority of the employed persons are engaged directly in agriculture, a small part of Wazir are carrying out timber business and transport is Marwat choice. While a small number of Bannuchi practice handicraft or other service trades which are essential for their existence. In Bannu with a pronounced class structure, however, there is always a clear cut division of labour, due to the rules

of the tribal system. For this reason it is erroneous to imagine that the village population is composed only of Maliks, landowners, tenants and agricultural workers. There is no case in which all the villagers are employed in agriculture. Even in purely agricultural villages, Kakki, Mamash Khel Sadat, Mashar Daud Shah, 15 to 25 per cent of the male employees are engaged in service trades. However sliding transitions can be observed between agricultural and non-agricultural occupations. The blacksmith who works for the land cultivators within the traditional relationship can rightly be regarded as a specialised worker in agriculture, particularly since he must perform certain functions of purely agricultural nature. Other professions such as barbers, potters, weavers and recently refugees from Afghanistan, clearly range among non-agricultural occupations in the Bannu plains.

Considerable practical importance has to be attached to the fact that an appreciable percentage of the employed persons have non-agricultural occupations. Under these circumstances the agricultural development programmes do not cover all parts of the village population, at least not directly. In Hinjal and Kotka Atlas Khan (Sarai Naurang), the improvements in living conditions require special consideration of non-agricultural village population. Otherwise these people would only indirectly benefit from the rising purchasing power of the land cultivators. In villages which are located within the precincts of industrial centres agriculturally employed persons do not constitute more than about half of all male employed persons. The small acreage compels some men to look for other occupations. In the villages close to Bannu City and Lakki Town, for instance, slightly



more than half of the employed persons are engaged in agriculture. The rest are commuters: they work as postmen, policemen, teachers, students, railways in road buildings trading and similar professions.

A high proportion of agriculturally employed persons, approximately 85 per cent and more are only to be found in villages with plentiful land resources. If on the other hand, the increase in population has effected great reduction in individual property and many families no longer have share in the soil - and this is a common feature - the proportion of the agriculturally employed persons will decline. The official statistics provide only little and unreliable information on these matters, since in view of the high prestige of the land cultivators the statements of many persons are not founded on facts.

Thus, the transition from agricultural activity to non-agricultural occupations is no longer a rarity for the villagers. By means of the examples already existing it is possible to recognise certain basic features of the manner in which the transition from agricultural activity to non-agricultural occupation occurred. For instance after Independence large numbers of Bannuchis switched over to various trades left by the emigrants. When raising the question of which persons enter non-agricultural activity it becomes apparent that in most cases a transition from agricultural occupations to other profession in some Bannu areas has not occurred. Occupations which are alien to the village are predominantly taken up by young ones when entering the labour market. Consequently it is not a question of an occupational change but of the movement or social competition into occupations

alien to tradition which takes place in the alternation of generations. In this way transition occurs more smoothly than it would if the people changed their occupations during their lifetime. Moreover, the majority of persons from all the three main tribes, Bannuchi, Marwat and Wazir, are probably still single when entering a profession which is alien to the tradition and therefore it is easier for them to take the accompanying risks. From the socio-economic point of view this kind of transition of non-agricultural activity is to be regarded in a positive sense because the amount of friction is likely to be relatively small. At the same time it permits projections as to volume of non-agricultural labour available in a region and as to the time when they will enter the labour market, the number of the younger annual contingents determining these two factors. However it also happens that persons who are already settled in one occupation change to another occupation. An actual occupational change occurs much more rarely and particularly concerns persons who have lost their previous function, tenants who no longer obtain land, who are not fully engaged in their profession (casual workers, Hamsayas) or who want to escape dependency. The movement of these persons into other profession or occupations, however, is due to different motivation. While the young people enter non-agricultural professions or leave Pakistan for the Gulf States or Saudi Arabia as unskilled labourers because they are attracted by the kind of work and by the wages, the fact that older, established people undergo an occupational change is attributable to economic pressure, namely the bad living conditions in the previous occupations. An occupational change during the whole working life

hardly occurs with landowners, tribal chiefs, Maliks, but first of all with agricultural workers and members of the services trade. The abandonment of farming would damage the landowner's prestige and currently in Bannu they are facing the problem of a shortage of agricultural labourers. Landowners, therefore, take care of their profession and they try to improve their existence by additional payments.

The change to non-agricultural occupations has been limited by the number of available work places. But this is not the only criterion. In villages with different tribal composition efforts to find non-agricultural workplaces vary in intensity. The basic cause for the movement into occupations alien to the village is nearly always the desire for an improvement in the living conditions. The standard of living is a question of comparison. Accordingly, dissatisfaction with one's own situation rises with the increase in possibilities of comparison. As long as only urban impressions are available for purposes of comparison they have little effect. The different way of life in the town cannot be transferred to rural conditions. As religious persons villagers of all tribal factions resign themselves to their 'quismat', the belief that Allah sends happiness and unhappiness, wealth and poverty, health and disease, at his discretion and to 'Rizq', the belief that Allah provides everybody with food and shelter. The breakup of the old traditions in favour of better living conditions has perhaps been ventured upon persons in lower positions of the old rank order. The desire for an improvement in the living condition is not to be conceived only in an economic sense. With the entry into new

occupations, both an economic improvement and greater independence is aimed at, which is of course general atmosphere in typical tribal setup. Very often both motives play a role simultaneously, the individual conditions determining which is predominant. While the motive of independence is of minor importance with the landowners and their families, it occasionally prevails over the economic incentives with the adopted ones and agricultural workers.

The transition to different occupational choices occurs in different ways according to the local tribal preferences and personal conditions. Especially the land cultivators, but also other persons who entered new occupations in the course of their lives desire only additional earnings from their secondary jobs, trading, casual work etc, the previous occupation being retained. The movement into new occupations partly occurs while maintaining the previous basis of livelihood. If in the case of land cultivators this basis of subsistence is large enough, the situation may continue even past the alteration of generations, and instead of the head of the household, the son may earn the additional income. However it happens more often that with the alteration of generations the trend is stronger towards the non-agricultural occupation. In Bannu the main factor has been educational facilities in the area after the Independence in 1947. Encouragement also came from the industrial units recently installed in Bannu. These conditions gave rise to mixed agricultural-industrial subsistence which would call part-time farm. This category also comprises, in a certain respect, the plurality of non-agricultural persons who try to improve their

subsistence by cattle husbandry, very common among some Bannuchis. They usually have no landed property but collect the forage on wasteland or receive it as payment or gift from the land cultivators.

Different forms of transitions are also to be encountered with persons who have fully devoted themselves to a new profession. An essential determinant is the distance from the place of work. When distances are short the residence is normally maintained in the village where people are bound by personal ties and security and where the cost of living is lower than in the town. When the distances between the residence and the place of work are greater, the level of income decides on the possible ways of migration. If the earnings in the town or city are sufficient the whole family will migrate, but often the dwelling and real estate in the village are retained as a place of retirement in old age. These cases do not only involve an occupational but also spatial migration from the villages. However, this migration among Thal Wazir and Bannuchi of Western Bannu is not permanent, but only for the time of professional activity. Persons with low income are normally not in a position to support their families in the town since the cost of living is so high that the occupational change would involve a deterioration rather than an improvement of living conditions. Only people with good schooling and education migrate. This selection is sure to have detrimental effects on the development in the village, owing to cumbersome life of a commuter the non-agricultural occupation is not practised all one's life but only until the time when first children reach an employable age. Then the latter supersede



Fig 32 Rural Industry in Bannuchi Village near Mira Khel

their fathers in the non-agricultural occupation, while the father devotes himself to the cultivation of his small holding, then having less troublesome work in the second half of his life. In all cases of special migration from the village the security and self protection from cousins is sought.

The forms of movement into new professions so far mentioned have always been connected with a change of occupation of the persons concerned or at least with an occupational shift of the youth in respect of the family tradition. The members of the service trades partly do not change their profession but only the position within their profession. Village craftsmen, especially those practising a trade which is also much in demand in the town such as blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, weavers etc frequently retain their occupation, but practise it as a wage labourer or independent craftsman.

Nowadays many of the obligations of the Hamsaya or dependant ship, particularly the duty of presence, are no longer observed. From a certain moment in the process of transformation of the social structure the land cultivators are compelled to make far-reaching concessions to the services trade in order to keep the members of this trade in village to have the necessary work done. There is particularly a tendency to assume work by individual orders and for cash. The pace of this transition varies between the individual services trades in village and depends on the demand for this trade in the town.

When choosing a new profession, the occupations associated with the previous activity are preferred. Thus the transition





Fig 33 Shinkandi Timber Market in The Bannu Lowlands



Fig 34 PIDC Bannu Sugarmills Sarai Naurang, Bannu



would not involve such a marked change and, furthermore, the knowledge of the material also the available resources might be utilised.

This tendency to enter related occupations is not only encountered with the services trade, the deviations are in general not very great. This is partly due to the caste structure which has not been superseded yet and to its effects. The kind of occupational change is caste specific. Members of higher caste standing mostly enter elevated professions, persons of lower caste standing take up simple occupations. The rigid occupational hierarchy of the castes has relaxed but the resulting stratification has not been abolished. The comparatively better school training, their superior economic position and caste prestige are the decisive factors effecting that the members of the leading caste mostly obtained higher and well paid positions, while the agricultural workers and 'Hamsayas' are normally employed as simple workers only. Most recently members of the lower caste started enjoying more extensive education and are becoming financially independent and prestige is becoming less important. This trend becomes apparent in the example of Bannuchi villages and Marwat Tehsil of the district.

The establishment of woollen mills at Bannu, sugar mills at Sarai Naurang and relatively smaller rural industries in the central area of the plains rendered possible movement into occupations actually alien to the villages without changing the place of work or residence. Furthermore, the fact that a number of people in some of the villages have had experience of work in such places as Karachi and Faisalabad means that there are now some villagers with skills relevant to establishing industry in the area.

## The village study

The survey carried out in the villages represented an attempt to explore in detail the complex relationships between agricultural practices and socio-economic structure in Bannu District.

The villages studied are representative of different tribal groups.<sup>1</sup> In three cases the villages have mixed tribal populations of Sayyads and other adopted Pathan tribes. - Hinjaal, Mashar Daud Shah and Goraka Manzar Sayyad Khel. In the other three villages single tribes dominate. In Kakki the Bannuchis predominate, in Kotka Atlas Khan the Marwats, and in Hindi Khel the Waziris.

The field study attempted to establish the relationship between the social and economic choices made by different tribal groups and the physical and socio-economic context in which those choices have to be made. Among vital physical factors, for example, was the availability and type of irrigation and the relative dependence of agriculture on rainfall. Social factors

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1. The field work in these villages was carried out in three periods between 1979 and 1982. The combination of survey data collected during these periods of field work and personal knowledge of the villages helps to answer some of the questions that cannot be answered from Census records and other secondary sources alone.

included differences between the tribes in terms of land ownership, customs of inheritance and purchasing of land and patterns of family relationship. Details of the villages studied are shown in Appendix        .

In some respects, most obviously that of religion, the population of the villages surveyed is more homogeneous now than in 1947. This is because with the departure of the Hindus the great majority of the population comprises Sunni Muslims. However, there are of course very important social distinctions, not just those based on tribal affiliation. The old zamindari system continues to leave its influence, with the division between zamindars and hamsayas continuing in most of the study area. The village survey showed that the social hierarchy peculiar to the South Asian sub-continent and based on the ancient caste system continued despite centuries of Muslim rule and the accompanying Muslim ideal of social equality. The influence of this social organisation on the individual and on groups is profound, as it is also on village tribal groupings, mutual alliances, politics and marriage. No aspect of life in the North-West Frontier totally escapes its influence.

The traditional tribal structure of the Bannuchi, Marwat and Wazir villages is in some respects relatively similar in the Bannu Plains. Tribal society in Bannu has unique characteristics of kinship, rigidity of social structure and homogeneity when compared with other parts of the country. These characteristic features are undergoing change as a result of several forces which have been identified above - education, urbanisation, industrialisation and contact with other societies. All these have helped to start the process of transforming many aspects

of social and economic life in Bannu.

In this study each village has been treated as an independent unit. In practice it is recognised that processes of change are complex and even contradictory. Furthermore it is difficult to interpret modern economic change in these villages without reference to government policies regarding agriculture. It is also recognised that it would be misleading to regard the villages as having been characterised by an entirely static agriculture until recent years. In the present and in the past farms have undergone changes.

On top of these difficulties with interpreting the survey carried out it is also recognised that no one village can give a complete picture of the distinct tribal life in the area, but as far as possible the six villages have been chosen to represent some of the most important features of village life and in which changes in the activities of the life of the villagers can be clearly seen.

All the villages lie within easy reach of Bannu city, and since there are good means of communication all of them come under urban influence as well as other forces for change. However, not all of them are subject to the same degree of urban influence. For example, Hinjal is situated just to the south-west of Bannu city's defensive walls. In contrast, Hindi Khel, largely populated by Waziris, is more than thirty kilometres west of Bannu.

Some of the main indices of social change in the structure and function of village societies are land tenure and fragmentation, the nature and extent of private property, cattle wealth, housing and house patterns, and the distribution of income. Other factors are also vital. Family life and social organisation within the tribe and the ways in which the tribes interact are very significant. Furthermore, specific developments outside the village such as the growth of a factory may have a major influence on occupational patterns.

Unfortunately, both the nature of the Bannu region and the very limited scale of my own resources limited the extent and the nature of my village survey. It was impossible to take either statistically random samples of villages, leave alone stratified samples. It was not even possible to repeat an identical questionnaire in each of the villages studied.

Inevitably, the weaknesses in the sample leave more than would be wished to subjective interpretation. However, the villages chosen are compared wherever possible in terms of the indices listed above. Some are more affected by particular influences than others. Thus Kotka Atlas Khan, for example, a village with 97 households, is on the outskirts of the new industrial centre of Naurang. At the same time, it was possible to study some aspects of change in one or two villages and not in others. Thus in the village of Goraka Manzar Sayyed Khel, some 50 kilometres south of Bannu, it was possible to identify changes in birth, marriage and death rites, changes which appeared to depend on the economic status of the family.

Table 52

The Survey Villages

Village	Tehsil	Agriculture	Area (ha)	Population	Households surveyed	Household size
Kakki	Bannu	Irrigated	1853	13,077	48	6.8
Kotka Atlas Khan	Bannu	Irrigated	n.a.	n.a.	97	
Hinjal	Bannu	Irrigated	86	1,884	266	7.1
Mashar Daud Shah	Bannu	Irrigated	83	1,065	139	7.7
Hindi Khel	Frontier region	Unirrigated	2589	3,413	516	6.6

Source: Bannu District Census Report 1972  
Field survey by the author 1979 and 1981-82



Fig 35 Jafar Khan Mosque Bannu



Fig 36 Chowk Bazar Bannu

## The Bannuchi villages

The Bannuchi region is characterised by numerous large but compact villages. These act as centres for their surrounding regions and their populations. Kakki, the village surveyed for this study, has particular significance among the larger Bannuchi villages since it is the traditional centre of the Bannuchi tribe. It is located eight miles to the south of Bannu on a pucca road connecting it with the city.

The survey covered forty eight households in the village, forty four of which were Bannuchi, the remaining four belonging to the Awan group. Superficially, the survey results might suggest a relatively immobile population, for all of the Bannuchi Heads of Household were born in Kakki itself. However, more detailed examination suggests that significant social and economic changes are taking place in the village.

Most of the householders still own land. Those Bannuchis living in the village itself tend to be small landowners, but the first evidence of change is given by the fact that seven of the surveyed households have sold their small plots of land in the last few years. This sign of change must be seen in the light of the further fact that many households who own small plots of land are also employed outside agriculture, especially in service activities in Bannu city. The small size of the plots owned means that they are insuffucient to support a family.

Landless families are inevitably forced to look for wage labour. The bulk of agricultural labour in Kakki village is carried out by labourers who live in Kakki proper. However, this does not give enough work for all those who are looking for it. While some owner farmers have relatively large plots of land tenants generally have much smaller plots. Household No.19, for example, rents 12 kanals to support eight family members. Household Numbers 28



and 29 each own 5 kanals and rent 5 kanals, supporting 6 and 10 family members respectively.

The inadequacy of the returns from farming to support the growing population is reflected in several changes. Both landless labour and members of households who either rent or own land are looking for work outside Kakki. While traditional forms of payment for labour on the fields, a share of the final crop, is still common, there is a growing use of wage payments both in the village and outside it. Thus twenty-five of the heads of households interviewed still owned some land but supplemented their income by employment in some form of service activity, while a further sixteen households specialised in trade and commerce.

This diversification of employment partly reflects the nearness to Bannu itself. The growing city has provided new economic opportunities alongside the traditional social and religious role it filled for the inhabitants of Kakki. Figures 35 and 36 illustrate two features of the town which drew people from Kakki in both a traditional and a modern role - the mosque and the bazaar. Advertisements shown in the picture of the bazaar (Figure 36) suggest the growing importance of modern sector commercial activity, symbolised particularly by the presence of the bank. The residents of Kakki increasingly take a part in this activity. At the same time the mosque continues to play an important role in the religious life of the community.

The provision of work outside Kakki village is only one aspect of the growing involvement of villagers with non-agricultural work. Kakki's own agricultural economy is also undergoing change, moving from a subsistence economy to a modern marketing economy. This change is occurring both through changing cropping patterns characteristic of the village and through direct involvement in marketing, which is possible partly because Kakki is only eight miles from Bannu.

K A K K I

(In Bannu Tehsil, Bannu District NWFP)

Name Head of Household	Ethnic Group	Tribe	Place of birth	Occupation	Area of house	No. of family member	Land	Owner/tenant
Bahadur Nawaz Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service/labourer	15 Marla	10	3 Kanal	Owner
Sar Anjam Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	1r Marla	7	30 Kanal	Owner
Abbas Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	1 Kanal	11	100 Kanal	Owner
Shamsuddin	Awan	Awan	Kakki	Farmer	1-10 Marla	12	100 Kanal	Tiller
Hukamzad Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	10 Marla	3	40 Kanal	Tiller
Mir Jani Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Barber	8 Marla	15	-	-
Mohammad Nawaz	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Tailor	1-5 Marla	6	-	-
Haji Mohammad Akbar	Awan	Awan	Kakki	Retired	1 Kanal	9	-	-
Amin Zaman	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Driver	1-5 Marla	17	100 Kanal	Owner
Dilawar Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	1-5 Marla	7	100 Kanal	Owner
Haji Badiuz Zaman	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	1-5 Marla	8	100 Kanal	Owner
Haji Mohammad Zaman	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	1-10 Marla	10	100 Kanal	Owner
Nasrullah Jan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	1-10 Marla	11	40 Kanal	Owner
Mohammad Roshan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	1 Kanal	15	30 Kanal	Owner
Hamidullah Jan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	1-5 Marla	5	30 Kanal	Owner
Hashim Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	1 Kanal	9	25 Kanal	Owner

K A K K I (Continued)

(in Bannu Tehsil, Bannu District NWFP)

Name Head of Household	Ethnic Group	Tribe	Place of birth	Occupation	Area of house	No. of family member	Land	Owner/tenant
Raees Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Business	1 Kanal	10	90 Kanal	Owner/tenant
Waresham Gul	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	1½ Kanal	11	60 Kanal	Tenant
Khan Gul Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	10 Marla	8	12 Kanal	Tenant
Hamesh Gul	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	8 Marla	8	25 Kanal	Tenant
Falak Sher	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	10 Marla	6	12 Kanal	Tenant
Piayo Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	10 Marla	4	12 Kanal	Tenant
Akbar Zaman	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	1 Kanal	17	20 Kanal	Tenant
Gul Sher	Awan	Awan	Kakki	Labourer	18 Marla	8	-	-
Inayatullah	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	7 Marla	5	10 Kanal	Owner/tenant
Mir Daraz Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Shopkeeper	1 Kanal	12	-	-
Haji Saeed Ghulam	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	2½ Kanal	15	50 Kanal	Owner/tenant
Ghazi Marjan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	1½ Kanal	6	5 Kanal	Owner/tenant
Subhani Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	1 Kanal	10	5 Kanal	Owner/tenant
Amir Jan Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	1 Kanal	16	7 Kanal	Owner/tenant
Hinustan Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Shopkeeper	1½ Kanal	16	8 Kanal	Owner
Gul Nabi Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Labourer	10 Marla	3	-	-

K A K K I (Continued)  
(in Bannu Tehsil, Bannu District NWFP)

<u>Name Head of Household</u>	<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Place of birth</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Area of house</u>	<u>No. of family member</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Owner/tenant</u>
Mohammad Roejan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Labourer	10 Marla	6	-	-
Mir Abdul Hakim	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	12 Marla	3	-	-
Spin Gul	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	1-7 Marla	12	2½ Acres	Owner/tenant
Mohammad Ramzan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	1 Kanal	8	1 Acre	Owner/tenant
Mir Salam Jan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	10 Marla	7	1 Acre	Owner/tenant
Ghazi Mar Jan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	10 Marla	4	-	-
Inayatullah	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Shopkeeper	6 Marla	8	-	-
Ghazi Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	12 Marla	7	1 Acre	Owner/tenant
Mumtaz Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Farmer	10 Marla	9	10 Kanal	Owner/tenant
Gul Rambel Shah	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Labourer	10 Marla	4	-	-
Piyao Mir	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	15 Marla	15	-	-
Haji Ghazi Marjan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	10 Marla	7	-	-
Amir Daraz Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Labourer	15 Marla	6	-	-
Mohammad Amir Khan	Awan	Awan	Kakki	Labourer	15 Marla	8	-	-
Mahmood Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Business	15 Marla	6	-	-
Awal Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Service	10 Marla	5	-	-

TRIBAL OCCUPATIONS IN KAKKI TEHSIL BANNU DISTRICT BANNU

Tribe Occupation	BANNUCHI	MARWAT	WAZIR	AWAN & OTHERS
Agriculture	16	X	X	1
Service	25	X	X	3
Trade and Commerce	3	X	X	X

The change in cropping patterns is reflected in the extension of new crops such as sugar cane, garlic, turmeric and onions onto fields that only twenty years ago were cultivating subsistence cereal crops. The new crops are often sold not in the local village market, which used to be the only contact with the wider economy, but in Bannu market. This now serves as a link with the national system, and the commodities are shipped further afield to Karachi, Rawalpindi Faisalabad and Lahore.

The potential for changes in the cropping pattern arises not just from the nearness of Bannu city but also from the fact that Kakki is an irrigated village drawing water from the main canal. In addition the government extension services have been active in promoting the use of high yielding varieties of seeds, fertilisers and pesticides and in providing loans to farmers. This even though the level of technology remains simple and does not involve the use of complicated machinery or sophisticated management it has still experienced important changes.

The growth of opportunities for work in Bannu itself has led to an increase in the degree of absentee land-ownership and farming. Householders No.10 and 11 for example both own 100 kanals of land in Kakki but are employed in service activities in the city. Men from Kakki are increasingly living and working in the city, leaving their wives responsible for working the farm. Remittances from the husband in town help to maintain the farm work and the family members living in Kakki itself.

The evidence from Kakki village suggests that members of the Bannuchi tribe, among the earliest tribal settlers on the Bannu lowlands, are taking part in rapid economic and social change. The evidence from two other Bannuchi villages surveyed

# H I N J A L

(in Bannu Tehsil, Bannu District NWFP)

Name	Head of Household	Ethnic Group	Tribes	Place of birth	Occupation	Area of house	No. in family	Land	Owner/tenant
1	Hussain Ahmed	Quresh	Quresh	Hinjal	Business	10 Marla	12	20 Kanal	Owner
2	Qamar Zaman	Quresh	Quresh	Hinjal	Govt. Service	14 Marla	14	30 Kanal	Owner
3	Mohammad Ismail	Quresh	Quresh	Hinjal	Nil	10 Marla	4	15 Kanal	Owner
4	Zard Ali	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Tenant	10 Marla	12	30 Kanal	Tenant
5	Ilam Din	Pathan	Bannuchi	Khojari	Business	10 Marla	13	15 Kanal	Tenant
6	Mohammad Subhan	Quresh	Quresh	Hinjal	Shopkeeper	10 Marla	6	15 Kanal	Owner
7	Tor Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Dalal/Broker	6 Marla	3	14 Kanal	Owner
8	Mir Adad Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Service	10 Marla	6	-	-
9	Malik Dur Mar Jan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Zamindar/Farmer	14 Kanal	3	50 Kanal	Owner
10	Mohammad Salim	Quresh	Quresh	Hinjal	Zamindar/Farmer	8 Marla	6	18 Kanal	Owner
11	Zainul Abideen	Quresh	Quresh	Hinjal	Zamindar/Farmer	12 Marla	10	7 Kanal	Owner
12	Mir Dad Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	City	Blacksmith	7 1/2 Marla	18	-	-
13	Sahib Mir Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mita Khel	Shopkeeper	4 Marla	18	-	-
14	Sharif Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Labourer	6 Marla	7	-	-
15	Mohammad Ayub	Pathan	Bannuchi	Manidan	Tenant	10 Marla	8	10 Kanal	Tenant
16	Hazrat Ali Shah	Quresh	Quresh	Hinjal	S.D.O. Telegraphs	12 Marla	19	7 Kanal	Owner

# H I N J A L

(in Bannu Tehsil, Bannu District NWFP)

Name	Head of Household	Ethnic Group	Tribes	Place of birth	Occupation	Area of house	No. in family	Land	Owner/Tenant
17	Jamilur Rehman	Quresh	Quresh	Hinjal	Business	6 Marla	9	10 Kanal	Owner
18	Mumtaz Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mandao	Labourer	3 Marla	9	-	-
19	Umar Nawaz	Awan	Awan	Marwat	Shopkeeper	8 Marla	6	3 Kanal	Owner
20	Akbar Ali Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Zamindar/Farmer	1 Kanal	9	30 Kanal	Owner
21	Ghazni Gul	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Municipal Service	8 Marla	6	-	-
22	Mir Janan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Labourer	3 1/2 Marla	7	-	-
23	Mehr Gul	Awan	Awan	Hinjal	Labourer	4 Marla	6	-	-
24	Dilawar Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Business	4 Marla	7	4 Kanal	Owner
25	Sardar	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mita Khel	Business	10 Marla	14	3 Kanal	Owner
226	Mohammad Roshan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Labourer	1 1/2 Kanal	8	2 Kanal	Owner
27	Zar Ali	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Labourer	7 Marla	5	3 Kanal	Owner
28	Bahadur	Pathan	Bannuchi	Kakki	Labourer	10 Marla	9	-	-
29	Raees Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Labourer	8 Marla	9	-	-
30	Khuri	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Government Service	10 Marla	8	-	-
31	Bahadur Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Government Service	8 Marla	5	15 Kanal	Owner

# H I N J A L

(in Bannu Tehsil, Bannu District NWFP)

Name Head of Household	Ethnic Group	Tribe	Place of birth	Occupation	Area of house	No. in family	Land	Owner/tenant
32 Madar Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Gov. Service	4 Marla	9	10 Kanal	Owner
33 Haqdad Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Business	6 Marla	9	-	-
34 Awal Gul	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Barber	5 Marla	7	-	-
35 Gul Dar Ali	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Tenant	5½ Marla	7	5 Kanal	Tenant
36 Mian Mir	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Weaver	3 Marla	2	-	-
37 Sayyed Mir	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Gov. Service	7 Marla	11	2 Kanal	Owner
38 Sayyed Kabir	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Business	6 Marla	15	10 Kanal	Lease
39 Rahmat Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Gov. Service	10 Marla	5	5 Kanal	Owner
40 Mira Din	Pathan	Marwat	Hinjal	Labourer	5 Marla	7	-	-
41 Saeedul Haq	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Farmer	9 Marla	10	6 Kanal	Owner
42 Jan Mohammad	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Service	5 Marla	12	-	-
43 Ali Abbas	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Service	8 Marla	9	3 Kanal	Owner
44 Fazal Rehman	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Labourer	9 Marla	8	5 Kanal	Owner
45 Gul Sher Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Labourer	6 Marla	13	-	-
46 Abdul Wali	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Butcher	6 Marla	11	-	-

# H I N J A L

(in Bannu Tehsil, Bannu District NWFP)

Name Head of Household	Ethnic Group	Tribe	Place of birth	Occupation	Area of house	No. in family	Land	Owner/Tenant
47 Sirajuddin	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Compounder	7 Marla	8	3 Kanal	Owner
48 Sultan Nawaz	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Farmer	1 Kanal	16	23 Kanal	Owner
49 Adil Bad Shah	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Farmer	11 Marla	25	2 Kanal	Owner
50 Gul Piayo Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Hinjal	Shopkeeper	10 Marla	11	-	-

TRIBESWISE OCCUPATION IN HINJAL, NOORBAZ TEHSIL BANNU DISTRICT BANNU				
<div> <div>TRIBE</div> <div>OCCUPATION</div> </div>	BANNUCHI	MARWAT	WAZIR	QURESH & OTHERS
AGRICULTURE	9	X	X	2
SERVICE	25	1	X	3
TRADE & COMMERCE	4 + 1 = 5	X	X	5

tends to support this view. Both Hinjal and Mashar Daud Shah are closer to the city of Bannu than is Kakki, being within four miles of the centre. However, while Hinjal lies only just outside the walled city, Mashar Daud Shah is on the border of the Settled District and the Frontier Region.

The chief point that emerges from a comparison between these villages and Kakki, is the extent to which the influence of nearness to Bannu has affected the speed with which change appears to be taking place. This is clearest in Hinjal, which although it is a mixed tribal settlement is predominantly Bannuchi. The survey showed that as in Kakki service activities were very important, though in Hinjal Government services and the professions rank higher than in Kakki. Only 26 of the 50 households surveyed own land, and the commercial use of land has gone even further than in Kakki, all farming being confined to the production of fodder and vegetables for the city market.

It is not just in the even greater commercialisation of Hinjal's agriculture that it is possible to see evidence of the city's influence on economic change. There has been a significant growth in the sale of land to people living in the city and also to migrants from outside who are finding work in the city. As the city itself is fully built up people are looking to build nearby. All the traditional land holdings are themselves small, the largest being 50 kanals, and the smallest plots have a much higher value for building than for farming. The integration of the village with Bannu city was given concrete form during the period of my survey when the Municipal Committee took the village into the city's administrative area, levying taxes on it in exchange for the provision of some services.



M A S H A R D A U D S H A H  
(in Bannu Tehsil, Bannu District NWFP)

<u>Head of Household</u>	<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Place of birth</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Area of house</u>	<u>No. of family member</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Owner/tenant</u>
Haji Mohammad Raees	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Goldsmith	1 Kanal	15	35 Kanal	
Pir Wali Shah	Quresh	Quresh	Mashar Daud Shah	Shopkeeper	10 Marla	12	60 Kanal	
Mohammad Shakhan Shah	Quresh	Quresh	Mashar Daud Shah	Shopkeeper	10 Marla	9	30 Kanal	
Gul Ajam Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	1 Kanal	14	5 Kanal	
Umar Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	10 Marla	6	4 Kanal	
Khan Badshah	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	10 Marla	10	-	
Gul Daraz Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	1 Kanal	12	8 Kanal	
Mohammad Saeed	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Shoemaker	10 Marla	7	30 Kanal	
Abdullah Jan	Quresh	Quresh	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	1 Kanal	22	8 Kanal	
Shirin	Awan	Awan	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	10 Marla	11	-	
Munawar Shah	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Goldsmith	1 Kanal	8	18 Kanal	
Masoud Shah	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Goldsmith	10 Marla	10	12 Kanal	
Mehr Din	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Goldsmith	10 Marla	10	12 Kanal	
Sardar Khan	Pathan	Kundi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	15 Marla	4	12 Kanal	
Said Gul	Quresh	Quresh	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	1 Kanal	7	4 Kanal	
Shah Nawaz	Quresh	Quresh	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	5 Marla	7	8 Kanal	

M A S H A R D A U D S H A H  
(in Bannu Tehsil, Bannu District, NWFP)

<u>Head of Household</u>	<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Place of birth</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Area of house</u>	<u>No. of family member</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Owner/tenant</u>
Mir Laiq Shah	Quresh	Quresh	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	5 Marla	4	8 Kanal	
Ghazi Mar Jan	Awan	Awan	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	1 Kanal	24	35 Kanal	
Abdul Wahid	Quresh	Quresh	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	1 Kanal	10	-	
Qamar Zaman	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	10 Marla	7	-	
Gul Janan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Goldsmith	1 Kanal	23	-	
Rabnawaz	Quresh	Quresh	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	1 Kanal	12	8 Kanal	
Noor Zaman	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	10 Marla	10	-	
Mohammad Ayub	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	10 Marla	6	5 Kanal	
Razid Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	10 Marla	6	12 Kanal	
Gul Dad Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Shopkeeper	10 Marla	10	8 Kanal	
Malik Paidar Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	2 Kanal	20	23 Kanal	
Malik Shahzada Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Landlord	1 Kanal	12	200 Kanal	
Malik Shah Daraz	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Landlord	1 Kanal	11	160 Kanal	
Gul Zaman	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	1½ Kanal	8	22 Kanal	
Mir Daraz Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Barber	13 Marla	8	20 Kanal	
Nek Nawaz Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Shoemaker	10 Marla	6	-	

M A S H A R D A U D S H A H  
(in Bannu Tehsil, Bannu District NWFP)

<u>Name Head of Household</u>	<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Place of birth</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Area of house</u>	<u>No. in family</u>	<u>Land</u>
Bard Ali	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Shoemaker	1 Kanal	7	-
Khalil Khan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Shopkeeper	1 Kanal	7	6 Kanal
Ghazi	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Labourer	10 Marla	5	-
Nawazi	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Barber	6 Marla	11	-
Mohammad Subhan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	16 Marla	12	30 Kanal
Sardar	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	1 Kanal	6	30 Kanal
Haji Sirin	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	10 Marla	4	30 Kanal
Haji Noor Ali	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	10 Marla	7	30 Kanal
Gul Wali	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Service	5 Marla	5	2 Kanal
Sayyed Ali	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Labourer	5 Marla	7	2 Kanal
Makhan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Labourer	5 Marla	5	2 Kanal
Mohammad Noor Daraz Khan	Pathan	Daur	Mashar Daud Shah	Gardener	6 Marla	7	-
Khan Gul	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	12 Marla	2	12 Kanal
Shahr Zad	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Gardener	1 Kanal	11	-
Saadullah	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Farmer	12 Marla	3	30 Kanal
Qazi	Awan	Awan	Mashar Daud Shah	Fruit merchant	12 Marla	8	-

M A S H A R D A U D S H A H  
(in Bannu Tehsil, Bannu District NWFP)

<u>Name Head of Household</u>	<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Place of birth</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Area of house</u>	<u>No. of family member</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Owner/tenant</u>
Mohammad Sakhi Jan	Pathan	Bannuchi	Mashar Daud Shah	Mulla	6 Marla	4	10 Kanal	
Mohammad Ismail Khan	Quresh	Quresh	Mashar Daud Shah	Overseas worker	3½ Kanal	11	6 Kanal	

The interest of Bannuchi tribal people in commercialisation of agriculture is also shown in Mashar Daud Shah. Although service activities such as shoe making, barbers, goldsmiths and shopkeeping are found, the most important activity is fruit cultivation. Bananas are grown extensively in the village, entirely for sale in Bannu and elsewhere in Pakistan.

The three Bannuchi villages studied strongly suggest that the Bannuchis are taking an active part in the developing commercial economy of the city and its region, and that they are sharing in the significant social changes that are accompanying this commercialisation. These vary according to the location of the villages and their traditional economic and social structure, but all illustrate the same type of changes.

#### The Marwat village

In many respects Kotka Atlas Khan, which is almost entirely a Marwat settlement, could hardly be more different from Kakki and the other Bannuchi villages. This is not just because it is over 15 miles from Bannu city, but also because it is one of the most recently settled villages in the Plains. In contrast to Kakki, for example, where everyone interviewed had been born in the village, in Kotka Atlas Khan, where a comprehensive survey of all 95 households was carried out, all the heads of households were migrants. This reflects the fact that the village was only established in 1954. A further major difference lies in the almost total unimportance of agriculture for the villagers. Only two of the 95 householders are farmers, all the others being dependent on trade, commerce and services.

This dependence on non-agricultural activities reflects two facts. First, the village is built on a main Government road, providing easy access between Bannu and the important sugar mill at Naurang Sarai. Secondly, it was the presence of the sugar mill

(In Bannu Tehsil, Bannu NWFP)									
No.	Name Head of Household	Ethnic Group	Tribe	Place of birth	Occupation	Area of house	No. in family	Land	Owner/tenant
1	WALI KHAN	Pathan	Marwat	Korka Wal Khan	Tailor	10 Marla	7	-	-
2	GUL MOHAMMAD	Pathan	Marwat	Korka Wal Khan	Tailor	10 Marla	7	-	-
3	RASUL KHAN	Pathan	Marwat	Nar Allah Dad	-	1 Kanal	6	-	-
4	MOHAMMAD SHAFIR	Pathan	Marwat	Nasir Khel	Mason	1 Kanal	7	-	-
5	MOHAMMAD YUSAF	Pathan	Marwat	Nasir Khel	Mason	1 Kanal	4	-	-
6	MOHAMMAD SHARIF	Pathan	Marwat	Nasir Khel	Mason	1 Kanal	8	-	-
7	MOHAMMAD KHAN	Pathan	Bannuchitri Killa	Shoemaker	15 Marla	15 Marla	4	-	-
8	MUQARRAB KHAN	Pathan	Marwat	Landiwa	Broker	14 Kanal	10	-	-
9	ZARIF KHAN	Pathan	Marwat	Korka Sherali	Barber	1 Kanal	18	-	-
10	PIR SAMAND KHAN	Pathan	Khattak	Sudramwar	Military	14 Kanal	10	-	-
11	GULAB KHAN	Pathan	Khattak	Sudramwar	Lineman	10 Marla	7	-	-
12	ATLAS KHAN	Pathan	Marwat	Nar Khaisor	-	10 Marla	1	-	-
13	HASSAN KHAN	Pathan	Marwat	Maulvi Killa	Labourer	10 Marla	7	-	-
14	ZAFRAN KHAN	Pathan	Marwat	Adalat Khel	Cleaner	10 Marla	9	-	-
15	MIR SAHIB KHAN	Pathan	Marwat	Hospital Killa	Labourer	1 Kanal	6	-	-
16	MIR QALAM KHAN	Pathan	Marwat	Hospital Killa	Shopkeeper	1 Kanal	7	-	-

O = Owner  
T = Tenant

K O T K A A T I A S K H A N (In Bannu Tehsil, Bannu NWFP)									
No.	Name Head of Household	Ethnic Group	Tribe	Place of birth	Occupation	Area of house	No. in family	Land	Owner/tenant
17	Sher Jan	Pathan	Marwat	Hospital Killa	Shopkeeper	1 Kanal	7	-	-
18	Hakim Khan	Pathan	Niaz	Hospital Killa	Business	1 Kanal	7	-	-
19	Gul Juman	Pathan	Niaz	Hospital Killa	Service	1 Kanal	13	-	-
20	Zar Wali Khan	Pathan	Marwat	Gorka	Service	1 Kanal	6	-	-
21	Noor Ali Shah	Syed	Syed	Gambila	Service	14 Kanal	4	-	-
22	Gul Mohammad	Jat	Jat	Dera Ismail Khan	Tailor	1 Kanal	5	-	-
23	Pirayo Khan	Pathan	Wazir	Khan Haji Gul Killa	Business	1 Kanal	5	-	-
24	Alam Mir Khan	Pathan	Chilzal	Bunozai	Refugee	2 Kanal	8	-	-
25	Wajah Din	Pathan	Khattak	Gadi Khel Karak	Refugee	1 Kanal	13	-	-
26	Tor Khan	Pathan	Wazir	Khan Haji Gul Killa	Refugee	1 Kanal	18	-	-
27	Mir Qalam Khan	Pathan	Wazir	Khan Haji Gul Killa	Refugee	1 Kanal	10	-	-
28	Fazlullah Khan	Awan	Awan	Hospital Killa	Shopkeeper	14 Marla	5	-	-
29	Mohammad Din	Awan	Awan	Mar Mundi Azim	Shopkeeper	1 Kanal	8	-	-
30	Ahmed Khan	Pathan	Chilzal	Sigai	Refugee	1 Kanal	6	-	-
31	Shah Nawaz Khan	Awan	Awan	Kalur Kot	Service	1 Kanal	18	-	-
32	Khan Badshah	Pathan	Marwat	Landiwa	Service	1 Kanal	4	-	-

O = Owner  
T = Tenant

# KOTKA ATLAS KHAN (in Bannu Tehsil, Bannu W&F)

Name Head of Household	Ethnic Group	Tribe	Place of birth	Occupation	Area of house	No. in family	Land	O/T
66 Amrullah	Pathan	Marwat	Naurang	Shopkeeper	1 Kanal	6	-	-
67 Aman Khan	Pathan	Marwat	Naurang	Service	10 Marla	12	-	-
68 Jalal Khan	Pathan	Afridi	-	Service	15 Marla	4	-	-
69 Sher Mohammad	Pathan	Wazir	Bannu Thal	Trader	2 Kanal	35	-	-
70 Abdul Hamid	Pathan	Marwat	Naurang	Service	1 Kanal	7	-	-
71 Shahabudin	Pathan	Khatlak	-	Service	15 Marla	9	-	-
72 Aqal Din	Pathan	Khatlak	-	Service	1 Kanal	7	-	-
73 Aurangzeb	Pathan	Riazi	Naurang	Business	10 Marla	8	-	-
74 Ghazi Marjan	Pathan	Marwat	Naurang	Business	12 Marla	9	-	-
75 Ghazi Khan	Awan	Awan	(Horiwala)	Labourer	15 Marla	9	-	-
76 Ismail Khan	Pathan	Ghilzai	Gardez	Refugee	1 Kanal	15	-	-
77 Babur Khan	Pathan	Marwat	Nasir	Labourer	1 Kanal	3	-	-
78 Pehlwan	Pathan	Marwat	Indiwal	Shopkeeper	1 Kanal	2	-	-
79 Gul Draz	Pathan	Battikan	Chanda Killa	Electrician	15 Marla	10	-	-
80 Amir Makhitar	Pathan	Marwat	Gurfi	Mulla	1 Kanal	12	-	-
81 Lal Baidshah	Qureshi	Qureshi	Hospital Killa	Contractor	10 Marla	6	-	-

O = Owner  
T = Tenant

## DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS IN KOTKA ATLAS KHAN

Occupation	Tribe	Pathan	Marwat	Wazir	Awan & Others
Agriculture		X	2	X	X
Service		X	44	2	28
Commerce and Trade		1	6	1	13

# KOTKA ATLAS KHAN (in Bannu Tehsil, Bannu W&F)

Name Head of Household	Ethnic Group	Tribe	Place of birth	Occupation	Area of house	No. in family	Land	O/T
82 Jalwat Khan	Pathan	Jadran	Gardez	Refugee	10 Marla	7	-	-
83 Bakhtiar Gul	Pathan	Jadran	Gardez	Refugee	11 Marla	7	-	-
84 Jamal Khan	Pathan	Jadran	Wazir	Refugee	1 Kanal	7	-	-
85 Ghulam Mahmud	Pathan	Marwat	Kotka Atlas Khan	Labourer	15 Marla	15	-	-
86 Ghousullah Khan	Pathan	Marwat	Sindh Qali Khan	Trader	15 Marla	12	-	-
87 Asrullah Khan	Pathan	Marwat	Nar (Gulam Ali)	Teacher	2 Kanal	9	-	-
88 Gulab Khan	Pathan	Marwat	Nar Sultan Magdhar	-	1 Kanal	18	-	-
89 Fakhruddin	Pathan	Marwat	Kotka Khair	Shopkeeper	2 Kanal	9	-	-
90 Mirza Zar Khan	Awan	Awan	Kotka Khaila	Grain Merchant	10 Marla	8	-	-
91 (Gul) Babbar	Awan	Awan	Naurang	Shopkeeper	1 Kanal	10	-	-
92 Umar Daraz	Awan	Awan	Kotka Atlas Khan	Woodwork	1 Kanal	4	-	-
93 Umar Hayat	Awan	Awan	Kotka Atlas Khan	Woodwork	15 Marla	8	-	-
94 Sher Ghulam	Awan	Awan	Kotka Atlas Khan	Woodwork	15 Marla	9	-	-
95 Saeedullah Jan	Awan	Awan	Kotka Atlas Khan	Tailor	15 Marla	17	-	-

O = Owner  
T = Tenant

itself that was responsible for the migration of many of the Marwat community, and of the Awans who make up the remainder of the population, into Kotka Atlas Khan. Migration is a common feature of the whole Marwat area, and settlers in Kotka Atlas Khan come from various parts of Pakistan, not just from the North West Frontier Province. Thus the survey showed that in addition to some refugees from Afghanistan, there were migrants from Dera Ismail Khan and from the Punjab, which accounted for ten of the households.

The composition of the jobs carried out by the Marwat community in the village reflects the lack of ties to the land and the importance of the sugar mill at Naurang Sarai. Many of the villagers are in service jobs directly of use to other workers in the mills - tailors, shoemakers, barbers, cleaners and a mullah, and others work in the mills themselves. What little agriculture there is also reflects the importance of the sugar mill and the needs of its surrounding population, being mainly sugar cane and vegetables, with a little wheat also grown.

With the rapid growth of the village and of the neighbouring industrial town of Naurang Sarai it seems likely that Kotka Atlas Khan may be absorbed into Naurang Sarai. However, even if that does not happen quickly, it is clear that the Marwat community, with its contrasting background in the Bannu Lowlands to that of the Bannuchis themselves, show little sign of developing an interest in the land and agriculture. As recent migrants they have few roots in their new area, and are thus in some respects already more open to change than the Bannuchis. In fact, because of their lack of landed interest, in Kotka Atlas Khan settlement has only been possible because of the Marwats' willingness to take to service and trade. It is the opportunity to carry out these activities that has given the Marwats an opportunity both for settlement and change.

### The Waziri Village

In general the Waziri villages are very different from those discussed above. Hindi Khel, which lies fifteen miles into the Frontier region in the western plains of Bannu District, is largely unirrigated and relatively infertile. Over 90% of the available land is technically under cultivation, but 60% is fallow. It is not untypical of Waziri villages in having both lower quality land and much larger farms than are found in Kakki and the other Bannuchi villages.

Although some of the Waziris are forced to earn their living from non-agricultural activity, and have taken such jobs as Frontier constabulary or teachers, they still have a strong interest in buying land for agriculture. In Hindi Khel, of the households surveyed 28 were directly dependent on agriculture, 8 on the service sector and just one on trade. The households themselves were much larger than the average households among the Bannuchis and the Marwats, several of the families comprising more than twenty people. The support of such large numbers on relatively infertile land may go some way to explaining the larger farm size and the desire to purchase more agricultural land. This is re-inforced by the strong wish to retain independence which is a characteristic of the Waziri tribe. One of the interesting contrasts between the Waziris and the Marwats lies in the fact that while both are migrant communities, the Waziris are keen to buy land and become farmers while the Marwats are selling it and moving out of agriculture. Often the Waziris are actually buying Marwat farms, though in Hindi Khel many of the Waziris have been settled for some time, and have gradually extended their area under cultivation.

The ability of the Waziris to survive on marginal agricultural land is increased by the continued interest of some of them in the timber trade, which adds to their

H I N D I K H E L

(in Bannu Frontier Region, Bannu District NWFP)

<u>Name Head of Household</u>	<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Place of birth</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Area of house</u>	<u>No. of family member</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Owner/tenant</u>
Sher Nawab Khan	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Farmer	1½ Kanal	10	150 Kanal	Owner
Bostan Khan	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Tailor	2 Marla	8	-	-
Rasul Khan	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Service	-	8	-	-
Abdul Karim	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Farmer	1 Kanal	13	-	-
Gul Rahman	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Farmer	1. Kanal	8	-	-
Zamin Khan	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Frontier Constabulary	4 Marla	7	-	-
Qamar Khan	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Peon	-	3	-	-
Mohammad Naeem	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Grocer	-	8	-	-
Abdul Salam	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Teacher	1 Kanal	5	100 Kanal	Owner
Amanullah Khan	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Mechanical Engineer	2 Kanal	15	200 Kanal	Owner
Taj Ali Khan	Pathan	Marwat	Hindi Khel	Tenant	1 Kanal	28	80 Kanal	Tiller
Yajin	Pathan	Khattak	Multani Landidak	Barber	9 Marla	7	-	-
Munawarullah	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Farmer	1 Kanal	8	10 Kanal	Owner
Mohammad Ayub	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Farmer	1 Kanal	10	80 Kanal	50% owner 50% tiller
Gulabat Khan	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Farmer	2 Kanal	13	200 Kanal	Owner
Hayatullah Khan	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel	Farmer	1 Kanal	5	20 Kanal	Tiller

H I N D I K H E L (Continued)

(In Bannu Frontier Region, Bannu District NWFP)

<u>Head of Household</u>	<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Place of birth</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Area of house</u>	<u>No. of family member</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Owner/tenant</u>
Gul Zar Jan	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi Khel/ Jani Khel	Service	1½ Kanal	8	-	-
Khandan	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	-	9	100 Kanal	Tiller
Ainullah Jan	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Service	-	6	250 Kanal	Owner
Aqib Khan	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	2 Kanal	15	50 Kanal	Owner
Rahim Khan	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	2 Kanal	11	50 Kanal	Owner
Said Akbar Khan	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	2 Kanal	8	50 Kanal	Owner
Rauf Khan	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	2 Kanal	6	50 Kanal	Owner
Wadir Khan	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	2 Kanal	7	50 Kanal	Owner
Sahibzada	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	1 Kanal	8	50 Kanal	Owner
Shahid Ali	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	4 Kanal	8	100 Kanal	Owner
Zafar Khan	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	4 Kanal	5	40 Kanal	Owner
Gul Gham Din	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	4 Kanal	10	60 Kanal	Owner
Atlas Khan	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	1½ Kanal	8	100 Kanal	Owner
Mir Alam Khan	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	2 Kanal	27	160 Kanal	Owner
Mir Akbar Khan	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	4 Kanal	35	300 Kanal	Owner
Shah Nawaz	Pathan	Wazir	" "	Farmer	1 Kanal	16	100 Kanal	Tiller



H I N D I   K H E L (Continued)  
(In Bannu Frontier Region, Ba-nu District NWFP)

<u>Head of Household</u>	<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Place of birth</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Area of house</u>	<u>No. of family member</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Owner/tenant</u>
Akbar Jan	Pathan	Wazir	Hindi-Khel	Farmer	2½ Kanal	27	200 Kanal	Owner
Noor Dad	Pathan	Wazir	"	Farmer	1 Kanal	21	60 Kanal	Owner
Gul Rehman	Pathan	Wazir	"	Farmer	5 Kanal	14	160 Kanal	Owner
Naimatullah	Pathan	Wazir	"	Farmer	3 Kanal	14	350 Kanal	Owner
Gul Mar Jan	Pathan	Wazir	"	Farmer	1 Kanal	7	100 Kanal	Owner
Sultan Khan	Pathan	Wazir	"	Farmer	2 Kanal	8	150 Kanal	Owner
Bahadur Khan	Pathan	Wazir	"	Farmer	1 Kanal	8	15 Kanal	Owner

TRIBEWISE OCCUPATIONS IN HINDI KHEL FRONTIER REGION, DISTRICT BANNU

<u>Tribe</u> <u>Occupations</u>	<u>BANNUCHI</u>	<u>MARWATS</u>	<u>WAZIR</u>	<u>KHATTAK &amp; OTHERS</u>
Agriculture	X	1	28	X
Service	X	X	8	1
Trade and Commerce	X	X	1	X

economic strength while maintaining their tribal links over considerable distances into Afghanistan. To them agriculture has become the means of providing the subsistence base for independence while trade provides the cash income and the basis of wealth.

### Conclusion

Even in the absence of the desirable statistical tests, it is possible to draw some conclusions from the analysis presented above which, however tentative, give some ideas about the pattern of social and economic change in the Bannu Plains and the tribal choices underlying them. The limitations of the sample, both in terms of size and representativeness, inevitably restrict the degree of certainty that can be read into the interpretation, but it does seem possible to see some broad characteristics.

The first general point suggested by the field study is that the three main tribal groups not only have different backgrounds in the Bannu Plains but are responding differently to changing economic, social and demographic circumstances. The Bannuchis themselves, the earliest settlers, are still attached to agriculture and particularly to farming on the high quality irrigated land. Owning such land is both economically important and socially prestigious. However, increasingly Bannuchis are diversifying into other activities while keeping a foothold on the land. They are doing this increasingly by the men taking up work in the city while women work on the land, and by a growing volume of migration to the town to find work without giving up ownership of the land in the native village. The contrasted position of the Marwats and Waziris has been strongly suggested by the experience of both Hindi Khel and Kotka Atlas Khan. Waziris, without a tradition of farming in the Bannu Plains and without access to irrigated land, but with a very strong tradition of independence, have been very active in buying up farming land and cultivating the rainfed areas. Often they have been buying from

the Marwats, whose own interest in the land has been much less well established than that of the Bannuchis, and who have been more willing to give up land in order to take up new occupations in industry and related jobs.

Some of the changes that have been outlined above are apparently contradictory. While some groups, notably the Bannuchis, hold firmly onto land while gradually diversifying, other groups, especially the Marwats, seem relatively uninterested in the land and more concerned about other work opportunities. The most important general fact that seems true for settlement throughout the Plains, assuming that the villages studied are representative, is that all the tribal groups are making constant adjustments, in some cases quite rapidly, to changing circumstances. However, the nature of these adjustments does reflect both the exact nature of the new situation and the original characteristics of the tribal groups themselves.

## CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have explored in some depth the social and economic patterns which have made it possible to construct a cohesive and historical analysis of tribal settlements in the Bannu Lowlands, which reveals that there was considerable activity regarding tribal settlers at the local level during the British period, with their distinct tribal life and organisation.

After Independence in 1947 the Bannu Lowlands have experienced their major phase of settlement diffusion of tribal origin, and recent decades have seen considerable increases in the size of individual tribal settlements and growth of regional importance. The Bannu plain, because of their transitional development status can be expected to have a relatively large proportion of their settlers in small rural settlements.

The settlement system among Bannuchis and Marwats is now relatively stable apart from continued frontier settlement expansion by the Wazir. Major changes to the tribal settlement system in the Bannu Lowlands are now concentrated in the expansion of a limited number of central places for example Sarai Naurang in mixed tribal area, Kakki in pure Bannuchi tract and Domel in the Waziri pocket on the eastern bank of the Kurram River. The changing hierarchical relationships of the central places had established their tribal dominance within the qualitatively uneven periphery and traditional rural sector. Such a development directly reflects Bannu's development status and the impact of tribal choices on the overall socio-economic changes.

*By J.*

It has been shown that the tribal settlement system is more complex than the simple traditional understanding and mutual trust will be a feature of the economic development and modernisation of the study area.

The problems of the adequacy of published material and of the unspecified or changing definitions of tribal settlements are not readily resolved.

Interest in the tribal relations of small-scale agrarian societies is not new in the Bannu Lowlands. The approach of this thesis has been concerned with the existing relations between different tribal communities as well as the relationship of individual Pathan community with their environment. However, despite the fact that new insights have been made, difficulty of collecting reliable and comparable field data have made statistical testing of these insights very difficult. In the specific case studies of tribal village base the quality of the research findings has been variable, illustrating some of the logical and technical weaknesses already referred to in the introductory chapter. The characteristic tribal process, for example, has enabled the specification of different choices of succession given particular agricultural practices, of great value in the understanding of a single pattern of settlement or in comparing different tribally defined communities. In the Bannu plains, the synchronic distribution of land types can be seen as representing different successional stages within a single tribe, a series of variable changes over a time in its agricultural status often recognised as changes through locally defined phases.

In the Kurram-Gambila doab, which is dominated by Bannuchis, there are varying implications for the future development of the land around it depending on the nature and intensity of commercial land use in the vicinity and the patterning of settlements, the communication network, households and similar structures

In Goraka Lakki Marwat Tehsil complex ethnic interplay of economic cycle provides a description of local social set up. The village based study has provided an awareness of the limits imposed on tribes by other tribes and the possibility of contradictions between various elements. All this then is not to deny that tribal relations form part of wider social system to which they are intricately related, some having the effect of regulating tribal relations. However it would require extensive research, which would be almost impossible to carry out, to establish that such links consistently so function and represent a response to environmental or social pressure.

The identification of Bannuchi, Marwat and Wazir tribes in this research of Bannu Lowlands has provided a number of results and indicated current trend in the population structure. In Bannu, apart from urban centres and adjoining areas where there has been considerable 'hybridization', the eastern and the Western Wazirs and inland Bannuchi inhabitants and Southern Marwats are demonstrably similar and representing pure tribes. Others may safely be called as <sup>derived</sup> <sub>regarded</sub> adopted tribal population in the context of three main groups of the Bannu Lowlands. Recent and continuing migration to Bannu Lowlands is apparent. The present survey suggests that historical patterns

social enquiries to determine why tribal people group themselves in varying degrees and areas of the Bannu Lowlands. The various tribal customs and laws constitute the 'Riwaj' (tradition), but the Riwaj is currently being replaced by the Shariah laws.

Despite the fact that a major concern of the Pakistan Government is to make the tribal peoples economically progressive. Little progress has actually taken place in the study area. All the main tribes in the Bannu Lowlands can be brought round to accept successful administrative system only by making the administration honest and efficient. The contentment of the tribesmen means the security in the settled districts of North West Frontier region of Pakistan.

The lack of communications and development infrastructure has proved a great handicap in the way of settlement operations, as well as general progress. For quite some time the Bannu district had to be content with summary settlements. When the first and second settlements were carried out, officials had to take account of the peculiar nature of North West Frontier tracts and political problems confronting the administration there. When it was found that the new revenue demands during revised assessments in the Bannu district were somewhat heavy, the overload had to be remedied with the government adopting a policy of light assessment. The earlier policy of liberal land revenue assignments and remissions in Bannu were to keep the tribes attached and loyal to the administration.

of movement are still continuing.

Changes in economic conditions, social mobility and the processes of familiarization among the three main tribes of Bannu after independence have effectively brought isolated tribal groups together. Probably these changes will not be great enough to erase in the foreseeable future the characteristic differences distinguishing the Bannuchi from Marwat and Marwat from Wazirs but the tempo will undoubtedly increase as modernization continues and social mobility is intensified. The greatest changes have occurred among the semi nomadic Wazir tribe and the future of this tribe is certain in the Bannu plains, as they are true inhabitants of the high 'pocketed' valleys of Waziristan guarding the lowlands of Bannu, which always encouraged nomadic migration and trade. Concerning the respective roles of tribal populations in the peopling of the Bannu plains recent development are themselves nothing new. This study emphasizes the need for a more intensive study of the complex tribal structure in Bannu. Thus for example all large settlements in the study area are divided into Khels among the three main tribes which in fact is a division of the tribe itself into sections and each Khel is treated as a separate entity. Thus a single tribal settlement in physical terms may include more than one entity. The cultural landscape of several older villages, and market towns, for example Kakki and Bannu City changed on account of the exodus of Hindus in 1947. Such changes would require detailed analysis in their own right. Similarly, single rural dwellings need to be separated from clusters and they form hamlets with inter tribal/occupational comparability. Perhaps a paramount need is for more penetrating



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administration.

Although conditions have changed very considerably since the British period, both in economic and political terms this thesis has provided considerable evidence to suggest that tribal differences remain a fundamental characteristic of the pattern of development.

## GLOSSARY

- bachh = distribution of revenue over holdings
- badraga = tribal escort
- bhayachara = a tenure in which possession determines the measure of each proprietor's right
- bakhra or brakha = share
- band = dam
- banda = hamlet
- barat = an assignment of land revenue
- batai = share of produce paid as rent
- Chalwestis = Mahsud tribal police; a canal watchman and share distributor
- chigha = hue and cry; pursuit party
- daftar = Pathan expression for the settlement of ancestral shares
- daftari = holder of an ancestral share; proprietor or land owner
- elder = an influential tribesman who was not himself a recognised 'malik'. In some tribal agencies elders received annual rewards in the form of 'lingi'.
- Faqir = religious mendicant without status; cultivator or farm servant
- frontier remission = a remission of land revenue enjoyed by villages in exposed tract or actually on the border. It usually amounted to one-third or one-quarter of the demand.
- gauda = boards or stakes backed by clods, stones and brushwood used to divide the width of a water section. The smaller unit was called gauda and the larger guta.
- gund = tribal faction
- hamsaya = dependent, occupying outlying hamlets of a Pathan estate on a condition of assisting in repelling raids on the land of the proprietor

jagin = an assignment of land revenue

jagindar = holder of a jagin

Jirya = tribal assembly, council or delegation

kafila = caravan. A number of animals carrying merchandize or baggage.

kandi = a division of an estate; section of a village.

kanungo = supervisor of patwari

kalang = arbitrary tax or assessment imposed by Sikhs

kalpani = perennial streams issuing from the hills

khassadar = is the representative of his tribe within its area for carrying out its engagements with government, but paid by the government. Khassadar is an irregular foot soldier; the police of the country.

khasra = field number or register

khel = a clan

khulavesh = fresh calculation of shares at the time of vesh; an individual share of land

lambardar = a village headman

lath = field embankment to retain irrigation

lathband = occupancy tenants who acquired rights in land by embanking fields

levy = in the north west frontier province, the levy system was generally applied in the settled districts. These levies consisted of tribesmen settled in British India who were armed by the government and in receipt of basic wages. The distinction between levies and khassadar was that

- (1) the levy was a cis-border formation; the khassadar trans-border;
- (2) the levy was armed by the government; the khassadar had his own weapons;

(3) the levy was employed in British India; the  
khassadar functioned only in tribal territory.

lungi = a head dress honour often accompanied by a reward or a  
cash payment

malik ; a tribal headman, who may be recognised as head of a  
whole tribe, or one of its major or minor sub-divisions,  
or of a section or sub-section

maliki = fraction of the tribal allowance paid to a malik

malik kabza = one who owned the land actually in his possession,  
but had no share in the common property of the village  
community

maurusi = occupancy tenant

muafi = a revenue free assignment

mulla = Muslim religious leader, usually orthodox

munshi = clerk

mutabar = responsible head

muwajib = cash allowance paid by the Treasury in recognition of  
family service. It was originally paid by the Sikhs as  
a fee for the collection of revenue, to a Khan.

nahri = irrigated from a canal

naksh-i-thakbast = rough boundary plan of an estate

paina = a term used to describe the right in waters of villages  
situated at the tail of a canal or channel

pain warkh = of land lying near the tail of actual canal or  
tributary

patwari = a village accountant or keeper of the village records

pucha = casting of lots; share

riwaji-abpashi = record of irrigation customs and rights

rodkahi = hill torrent water

saroba = a term used to describe the water rights of villages  
at the head of a stream

sar-i-wrakh = of land ~~laying~~ near the head of a canal or distributory

shajra kishtwar = field maps

shamilat = village common land

tahsil = a revenue sub-division of a district, charge of a tahsildar

tahsildar = official in charge of a tahsil

takari = loan granted by government to a cultivator for improvement of land for agricultural purposes

tappa = tribal sub-division

taqsin = distribution

taraf = a sub-division of an estate

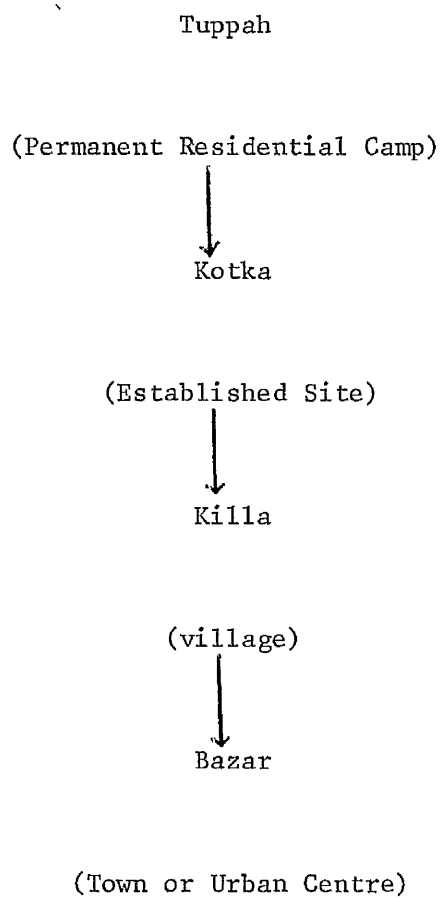
vesh = a periodical redistribution of land among proprietors

vial = water channel

Zamindar = a land owner, who often but not always cultivates his own land, usually with the help of landless agricultural labour

zamindari = a form of tenure where an estate is held by several proprietors in common

Taxonomy of Pathan Settlements in the Bannu Lowlands NWFP



Detail of the Wazir Settlers in BANNU District

[since 1848-49]

WAZIR  
[DARWESH KHEL]

AHMADZAI

SPIRKA

HATHI KHEL

BIZAN KHEL

UMARZAI

ZILY KHEL

TORI KHEL

KHOJUL KHEL

GANGI KHEL

KHONI KHEL

PAINDA KHEL

SIRKI KHEL

SHOOJUH KHER

SAR SHOOJUH KHEL

BADIN KHEL

OTMANZAI

BAKKA KHEL

JANI KHEL

MALIK SHAHI

SAIPULI

POPULI

NIAMI

SAIDGAI

EUSOGAI

BATTYE

KHOSHALI

SHAHMIRI

BOBALI

MIRALI

DATTA KHEL

MADDA KHEL

BALLA KHEL

MAHMOOD KHEL

MICHI KHEL

TOUWVL KHEL

MUT KHEL



Brief History of 'Construction of Separate Channel for Mandev Area From Landidak Canal'

Landidak Canal is a Civil Canal in Bannu District. It irrigates about 14,843 acres of land. The area being irrigated by the head reach is called Mandev area whereas the tail area is known as Landidak area. There were often complaints from the tail area irrigators that they did not receive their due share of water in the canal as per Rewaj-i-Abpashi due to pilferage of water by the irrigators of head reach ie Mandev area. In order to set right the dispute the above noted scheme was prepared.

The scheme provides for the construction of separate channel for Mandev area which off-takes at RD 27600 of Landidak canal and outfalls at RD 41500 of the said canal, thereby separating some ten nos. outlets from the existing canal.

The total length of separate channel is about 14,000 feet: designed to carry 16 cusecs of water. However brief history in respect of 'Construction of a Separate Channel for Mandev area from Landidak Canal' is given as under.

Landidak canal takes-off from Kachkot Canal irrigating a culturable commanded area of 31,018 acres. Being a Civil canal its water was required to be distributed in accordance with the Rewaj-i-Abpashi. There was an old irrigation problem amongst the Mandev, Nurar, Barakzai and Landidak irrigators. The Mandev along with Nurars and Barakzai and Landidak are paina.

The paina irrigators alleged that Saroba irrigators of Madev etc were using water in excess of their rights and thus deprived the tail irrigators of their rights. In the year 1946 the then Deputy Commissioner, Bannu asked the Irrigation Department to submit a proposal to redress the grievances of Landidak. The Irrigation Department proposed a Scheme for providing a new separate channel for the Mandev irrigators at an estimated cost of Rs 50,000.

The Deputy Commissioner, approved the Scheme under Section 10(1)(a) of the Punjab Minor Canals Act, directing that the irrigators of the Landidak shall pay the sum of Rs 50,000 in advance for implementation of the Scheme.

The aggrieved party went in appeal in the Court of Revenue and Divisional Commissioner of the former NWFP against the said order of the Deputy Commissioner. The appeal was rejected on 30 June 1947. Later on the Provincial Government of the former NWFP sanctioned the execution of the work at a cost of Rs 50,000 in the year 1947 with the condition that the unskilled labour will be provided by the Zamindars to the tune of approximately Rs 24000. It was also ordered that the contribution of Rs 20,000 would be made by the irrigators at the tail of the canal. The irrigators deposited some amount. The Scheme was not however undertaken and the amount contributed by the concerned irrigators was withdrawn. On 4 June 1970 a meeting was held in the office of the Deputy Commissioner, Bannu regarding irrigation problems of the District in which the above problem of Landidak was discussed and it was ordered by the by

Deputy Commissioner, Bannu that the Nurars and Landidak irrigators would be grouped together and they would use one channel (existing channel) for their irrigation while the irrigators of Mandev and Mobati Barakzai would be grouped together in the new arrangements. The Deputy Commissioner remarked in the meeting that the scheme has already been sanctioned for the separation of Landidak irrigators.

It may however be stated here that the said decisions were not implemented upon till 1972-73, when a proposal was reframed for a separate channel to be constructed for the inhabitants of Mandev, Nurar and Mobati Barakzai and Landidak taking off from existing Landidak canal RD 27600 for an amount of Rs 1.22 lacs which was approved administratively by the Superintending Engineer, Southern Irrigation Circle, Bannu vide his letter No 12029/1-A (72-7) dated 2 December 1972. The proposal had also been approved in principle vide Chief Engineer, Irrigation Dept: NWFP, Peshawar No 15515/1B/WC/200-W (viii) dated 20 October 1973. Originally the detailed estimate of the proposed work was sanctioned for Rs 364,300 vide Superintending Engineer, Southern Irrigation Circle, Bannu No 9502/4-W, dated 30 May 1975 which was subsequently revised and sanctioned for Rs 398,600 vide Superintending Engineer, Southern Irrigation Circle, Bannu letter No 1691/4-W dated 3 May 1976. Consequently its revised administrative approval was also accorded vide Chief Engineer, Irrigation Dept: NWFP, Peshawar No 22077/1B/WC/20-W (ii), dated 29 November 1975. It is further added that the land acquisition proceedings under Land Acquisition Act 1894, have also been completed and necessary payment on account of cost of land etc amounting to Rs 84,525 has been made

to the Acquisition Collector Bannu. Actually the land acquisition formalities were previously got finalised under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 and necessary Award under Sec (11) of the Land Acquisition Act was issued by the Acquisition Collector Bannu vide his No 201-4/DK dated 19 February 1975. After that necessary tenders were called for and order to execute the work at site was given to the contractor during April 1975. It may be mentioned here that there had been no opposition in acquiring the land for the purpose in terms of Notifications under Section (4) and (6) and Award Statement under Section (11) of the Land Acquisition Act 1894. Had there been any otherwise trend from the concerned owners of the land or the concerned irrigators, the aforementioned notifications would have not been finalised by the Civil authorities.

The circumstances under which difficulties experienced in getting physical possession of land at site after clearing land acquisition charges on the basis of Award statement were so that the inhabitants of the area provoked and the situation became so critical that the work was started at site under the police force, arranged by the Deputy Commissioner, Bannu. This situation remained continued again and again during the course of execution of the work at site during the year 1974-75. The work remained in progress and an expenditure of Rs 408,576 has been incurred up to June 1977. A special application for funds amounting to Rs 500,000 was submitted vide this office No 4600/19-A (76-77) dated 26 July 1976 to complete the work during the year 1976-77 but due to hinderence created by the locals of Mandev, the work was to be stopped as some of the irrigators went in appeal in the Court of

Law. Physically 80% work had been completed and the balance 20% work remained suspended.

It may be mentioned that according to this proposal the new channel has been designed for a discharge of 16 cusecs to irrigate an area of 17650 kanals out of which 13050 kanals will get through out the year, whereas the remaining area viz 4600 kanals is afzood area; 2800 kanals is of Nurar irrigators. This entire area is presently receiving water from ten khullah-jats of Landidak channel which will on completion of the scheme receive supplies from the new channel.

It may be added that on an application from Haji Pir-Sakhi Zaman of Nurar it was recommended vide this office No 6262/136-W dated 29 August 1975 to the Deputy Commissioner, Bannu that the last outlet viz outlet No 10 belonging to Haji Pir Sakhi Zaman of Nurar should be exempted from transfer to the proposed new channel ie it should be allowed to receive water from the existing channel, but this recommendation was however withdrawn vide this office No 4065-A/136-W dated 14 May 1976. The Deputy Commissioner, Bannu ordered vide his letter No 164-CCF dated 19 June 1976, but because these orders needed clarification, the office of the Deputy Commissioner, Bannu was requested vide this office No 4578/136-W dated 22 July 1976 to make necessary clarification. It still needs to be clarified whether the khullah of Nurars (Pir Sakhi Zaman) should be allowed to remain on the existing Landidak Channel or it should be transferred to the new channel under construction as proposed in the original proposal and agreed to in principle by the Chief Engineer, Irrigation

Department, NWFP, Peshawar.

During the course of execution of the proposed channel, Mr Amanullah Khan son of Haji Mohammad Ali Khan etc, the irrigators of Mandev area lodged a Civil suit in the Court of Senior Civil Judge Bannu against the execution of the said work on 28 July 1976, when its first hearing was fixed for 30 September 1976 and an ex-parte decree ordered the same day by the learned Judge in favour of Mr Amanullah Khan for the reasons that the SDO in charge (Mr Mahmood Khan) who was issued the authority letter on behalf of all the respondents of the Irrigation Dept failed to attend the court on due date. Moreover the Government Pleader also did not appear in the Court which resulted in ex-parte decree against the Government. In this connection an application for setting aside the ex-parte decision was submitted to the Court through PP Bannu on 28 April 1977 and the case is still under process in the Court of Senior Civil Judge Bannu.

In order to probe into the matter and fix the responsibility an enquiry was held by the Superintending Engineer, Southern Irrigation Circle, Bannu as a result of which charge sheet was issued to the DSC in charge whose replies with comments of the Executive Engineer in charge (Haji Mohammad Ashiq Afghan) have been submitted to the higher authority and is still under consideration.

### APPENDIX THREE

#### Questionnaire and responses

The questionnaire and responses that follow are the result of a very informal series of interviews with settlers in the villages studied. Although they cannot give a basis for statistical analysis of the processes of settlement or of agricultural change, it was felt that they did illustrate both some of the important characteristics of the different villages and aspects of change which are currently taking place, and thus that they should be included in the appendices.

## QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Has the city/area changed much since you have been here?
2. Which of the following are most in need of improvement?
  - i) Medical Services
  - ii) Treatment of criminals
  - iii) Road and Transport
  - iv) Services for the Elderly
  - v) Child Welfare
  - vi) Animal Welfare
  - vii) Recreation facilities
  - viii) Education facilities
  - ix) Other, please specify
3. State any view you have on any one of these in particular.
4. What changes should there be in the income system to pay for this?
5. In this city/area there should be more provision of:
  - i) Shops
  - ii) Committee Houses
  - iii) Allotments
  - iv) Other, please specify
6. Do you note some changes in the agricultural practices of this area after the Independence?
7. Which daily newspaper do you take at home?
8. Have you ever read a copy of the current journals? Please quote the name.
9. What opportunities for employment are there for young people in this area?
10. How many people are there in your family at home?
11. How old are you?
12. Are you single or married?
13. What is the exact occupation of the head of your household?
14. Were you born in this city/area?
15. What sort of schools/colleges have you attended?



16. At what age did you finish full-time education?
17. Do you have any qualifications or School Certificates?
18. What class do you belong to:
  - i) Working
  - ii) Middle
  - iii) Upper
  - iv) No class
  - v) Other name
19. What kind of house/houses do you live in?
20. How much money is earned by your family?

From: Muhammad Jalalud-Din

- 1) Bannu City is the said city surrounded by walls having eleven entrance gates as it was before 1947, and it also has the same accommodation and shops. However, there are some aspects in which this city has been developed, and other aspects in which it has degenerated.

#### Sanitation

Before 1947 this city was one of the cleanest and the staff were most efficient as was the drainage system. At the time of rainfall and after the rainfall, the rain water flow was thorough; but presently during the heavy rains the rain water demolished many houses due to the non-availability of sanitation and drainage systems. Everywhere in the city there are stacks of rubbish, and the Municipal Staff avoid its carriage. In short, the sanitation and drainage system of Bannu City has become worst after Independence - especially over the past 10 years.

#### Construction Work

Very nominal construction work is carried out in this city. One market for general shopping and two residential quarters near Sokari gate (one quarter has been constructed in the library lawn) have been constructed - besides this, no shops/Quarters have been constructed.

The roads of this city are the same as in 1947. No new roads have been introduced to this city nor has any road been widened. Although the roads were very beautiful and well-constructed, due

to the passage of time, these roads were damaged, and inside the city are very much in a deplorable condition as well as the roads outside Mirian gate Haved Gate Gouwshala (Bannu-Peshawar road) Missionary Hospital has been constructed.

#### Municipal Library

Ten years ago this library was well equipped with various newspapers and, before partition, with valuable books. Nowadays, neither the newspapers nor the books are available.

#### Water Supply Scheme

Before Independence, there was one water tank which is still unique. This water tank is situated in Tanchi Bazar Bannu and has a capacity of 1 lac gallons water - sufficient for supplying water to the inhabitants of this city. Nowadays, more water tanks of 50000 gallons capacity have been constructed and besides this, two tube wells have also been opened, but these still cannot cope with the requirements of the inhabitants, and the citizens are facing great hardship as regards water facilities - however, efforts have been made in this connection.

#### Recreation Facilities

There are four beautiful grounds in this City. One is known as Hockey Stadium and the others are known as Lady Park, Milad Park and Dalasa Park.

In Hockey Stadium the various players play hockey but the facilities are provided for these players by the District Hockey Association and the fund is usually collected by the locals. No provisions are available from the municipality.

In the Lady Park I remember when I was a child in 1962 that this ground was equipped and the city children were playing there; but today it gives us a picture of a desert. This Park is important in that during the Independence struggle Gandhi and Hussein Ahmad Madni, the great congress leaders, have addressed the people. This ground is situated in the heart of the city and seems very bad.

The other Park, Milad Park, which previously was named Garston Park is also in a desert like shape, and the municipal authorities are very careless about the future of this ground of about 3 acres.

In Dalassa Park, no facilities are provided by the Municipal authorities, but the people themselves have arranged associations and they occupy this park playing badminton, body-building, racing etc.

To sum up, it is of great concern that no recreation facilities are provided by the Municipal authorities in this city.

#### Education

In this city there has only been an increase of one school. Before Independence there were three high schools, and nowadays there are four high schools including one missionary high school. The municipal committee has not opened one single school in this city unlike in other cities. Hence, no education facilities are provided in the city in accordance with the requirements of the public, and the facilities are the same as they were before Independence.

#### Medical Services

Before Independence there was one hospital in Bannu city, and still, today, there is only one hospital in Bannu. This

hospital was formerly the Civil Headquarter Hospital, but today it has been shifted outside the city, and the old hospital is a specialised one for ladies only, and the old ladies hospital is designated the T.B. Hospital.

But, if you happen to see the T.B. hospital you will surely think that this hospital is the originator of the T.B. disease because it is so dirty and there is a great amount of rubbish stacked there. In the Ladies Hospital, the seat of the Lady Doctor is often vacant, but at present, fortunately, there is a lady doctor posted. However, medical facilities are not available and medicines are not supplied to the public free of cost, unlike before Independence when they were supplied to the poor free of cost. Thus, medical facilities are not available in the city as there is no dispensary or hospital for men. In spite of the fact that the public have put forth demands time and again for the opening of a dispensary manned by an MBBS doctor to provide facilities for city residents, the government have paid no attention. I, being the Chairman of The All Services and Labourers Joint Council representing the 24 thousand employees and labourers of Bannu district have constantly made demands, but with no response from the government. Emergency cases during night hours are especially dangerous, in that the hospital is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the city and due to this distance and the lack of transportation it is quite impossible to get a serious patient to the hospital for immediate medical aid.

### General Condition of the City

I have heard from my elders that Bannu City was once a beautiful clean city, but nowadays all the rubbish is thrown into the city bazaars, and when the public carried out construction work they left raw materials in the road/Mohallah which caused dust etc. In the main bazaars, on the sides of the roads, the poor people have constructed "Khokhas". These are shops made of wood having an area of one "Charpai". Most of these khokhas are constructed in such places in the bazaars so as to give a very bad impression to the public, but this is all due to the increase in population and increase of their demands. Due to the increasing demands of the public more Pacca shops are needed which are not available; thus, the people generally construct these khokhas on the municipal land. The other reason for these khokhas is that the extension of Bannu City is strictly prohibited by the surrounding walls, yet the bazaars are very much used for shops/khokhas. This practice was especially developed in the Bhutto regime, when the concept was that anyone who constructed anything on the land of any person is his own property of which he is the legal owner. This practice brought the public great trouble. Such obstructions were not there before Independence, because at that time there were strict implementation of law whilst nowadays the law enforcing authorities are not so strict. The public leaders also avoid interference, because they are afraid that if the public are troubled then they will use their vote against them. This practice has brought about the idea of disobeying the law in our illiterate people who are not advanced like the British.

### Extension of the City

As already mentioned, before Independence, Bannu City was surrounded by walls which have stopped the extension of the city. Unless these walls are demolished the city will remain the same as before Independence. This means that in the suburbs construction work is in progress in the villages, and if the walls come down then the city will become one big city. In the village in which I reside, is the suberb village of Bannu City situated on the western side of the city outside the Hinjal Gate. Ten years ago, this village consisted of 100 houses, but now this has increased by 400 or 500 houses and nowadays the present houses are about 600 to 1000 in number. This speed of construction can convert the city into one big city but the obstacle is the walls. ? y/

I suggest that if the district administration demolished these walls and merges these suburbs into the city then it can provide greater help for the development of the city.

In the end it is submitted that the city has changed very much, but in clumsiness not elsewhere in other development aspects.

### Area

I infer from the word area other than city, so it is so:

No change in the area. But to some extent. The government have played a vital role in developing education amongst the public. One primary school is available for a village of 1000 houses, while a high school is available for the surrounding area of 10 miles.

Only one postgraduate college is there, and one commercial institute. The general condition of the public has much changed

due to the wealth which people earn in the United Arab Emirates and other Arabian countries. Communication facilities are also not adequate in my village which is a distance of 4 furlongs from the city without a proper pacca road. There is no transportation for vegetables and the people bring vegetable pots on their heads to the vegetable markets.

In short, after Independence, the area has not changed much, the roads are the same roads except that some new ones were constructed to some villages by personal effort and on a party application basis not in the interest of the common public. Some facilities for drinking water are provided by the Public Health Engineering Department to the village people. Various tube wells have been installed in some villages particularly those villages which had the greatest need.

#### Brief

The people of the city and the remaining areas of Bannu have changed socially and economically, and are now busy constructing new pacca houses and shops. Business has developed: before partition, all the businessmen were Hindus and Sikhs while the Muslims were only Maliks and landlords; but, after partition the Muslims of Bannu occupied the business seats of Hindus which played a vital role in the economic development of the people of this area. Before partition the city was occupied by Hindus, and after independence, the villagers occupied the houses of the Hindus in the city which socially developed the villagers, and the two separate societies joined together and nowadays the wealth is shared amongst us.



As far as the question of changes in the area and its demands are concerned, there are very nominal changes and yet the people and the area are very backward and need much more attention from the government authorities.

- 2) i) Almost all the items are mostly in need of improvement but especially the following two items:

- 1) Education facilities
- 2) Medical Services

Besides these two the others also require improvement.

Details are as follows:

1) Education Facilities

This district is totally deprived of the modern education facilities as per detail given below:

Bannu district is situated in the centre of the southemarea. Around this district there are two districts of the N.W. province i.e. Kohat on 80 miles DEkhan on 90 miles on one side north Waziristan Agency on 40 miles while Kurram Agency on 90 miles and South Waziristan Agency also on 100 miles. On the other hand Bannu district also touches the boundary of Punjab province and Mianwali district of the Punjab province is on 120 miles distance from Bannu. Being the centre of this area populating about 35 Lacs, this district is deprived of its essential requirements such as education. Climatically, Bannu is a good place and agriculturally, according to the British historians, Bannu is a "Paradise". But, this Paradise is thirsty for education facilities.

Bannu district has a population of 7 lacs which have the following institutions:

- 1) One postgraduate college
- 2) One commercial institute
- 3) One inter-college at Naurang
- 4) One Degree college at Lakki
- 5) One inter-college at Ghazin Khal
- 6) One female inter-federal girls college

According to the demands of this district, it is in much need of educational institutions.

Public leaders have demanded one medical college, one agriculture college, one polytechnic institute. Besides this, the opening of science subjects postgraduate classes are also needed there, but the government does not pay any attention towards the demands of this area due to the reasons that the people of this area are religious minded and they have also cast their vote in favour of the religious leaders such as Maulana Mufti Mahmood, and as such they were in opposition. Thus the government paid no attention toward the requirements of the area, on the other side Maulan Mufti Mahmood belonging to D.I.Khan division and to D.I.Khan district. Thereby he paid his full attention to D.I.Khan district only for stringing his constituency costing loss to Bannu. In this connection the university was opened in D.I. Khan by the People Party Government for strenthening their party position there. This is quite astonishing to say that since Independence up to 1980, the Government College was running in an acquired building and not having its own building. This year the college has been shifted to its own incomplete building, and without adequate accommodation this college is functioning there.

No government girls college is available in this backward district. Only one federal inter-girls college is available in which every poor person cannot get admission due to heavy fees. Therefore the intelligent girls are without education above matriculation, because they cannot seek admission to this college nor can they send their daughter/sisters to other districts. Therefore this district is not provided with primary education facilities, and it will not be out of place to mention that it is necessary to open immediately one postgraduate girls college in Bannu.

One degree commercial college is also available in Bannu for the last eight years but it does not have its own building. If an institution has no building what about its efficiency. Therefore, it is the demand of this district to immediately construct a building for the commercial college, and this college may be upgraded to higher classes.

On the other hand, the teachers of primary classes are trained teachers working on initial payment of Rs. 280 per month. For this pay they go to other districts for training, and such is the case for SV and B.Ed and M.Ed. It is therefore the requirement of this district that all these training/professional classes be opened in Bannu district to save the low paid teachers from unnecessary worries and expenses. This will also improve the teaching efficiency and will save the precious time of the students.

In Bannu the M.Sc.Physics, M.Sc. Geography, M.Sc. Geology, M.Sc. Maths, M.Sc.Zoology and such other science postgraduate

this district, and most of the students of this district are on Foreign Scholarships. For these reasons also this district needs special developments in the education sector. Besides serving the district, the intelligent and loyal people of this district will serve the country very well.

(ii) Medical Services

No adequate medical services are provided by the Government for the people of this district, but in my opinion the services which were freely available to the poor people before partition have now been snatched by the doctors. This is summed up below:

There is one district headquarter hospital in Bannu, one Civil Zanana Hospital and one T.B. clinic.

In the headquarter hospital no medicines are available for poor people. No-one can enter the hospital without paying a fee, and as such the people usually hesitate to seek the help of civil doctors, because during office hours they are generally not available, and if available they are not attentive towards the poor patients; even while receiving an OPD chit you will pay something to the staff member. The OPD doctors are not equipped by the government with the required instruments.

There is one Eye Specialist in this hospital but he is without instruments. For many years the people of this district have demanded instruments for this doctor but the government is silent, and as such this doctor is useless in the civil hospital. There is one operating theatre in this hospital, on the upper storey, but no lift or any other adequate facility is available

classes are still not opened and the people of this area have a shortage of these classes.

To sum up, for the development of an area it is necessary that the people of that area must be calculated, and if the people are illiterate how can they think of development. If the people are educated then they have a thinking power and that power can be used for the development of the area. Through education intelligentia comes forward and this class represents the area. It will not be out of place to mention here that in the past elections the Member of the National Assembly was Under Matriculation, while the two other provincial parliament members were also below middle standard, beside this most of the Party leaders are illiterate and they are unable to sign documents - as they impress the thoughts of people how can one expect good results from them. This is all due to the fact that no education facilities are available to the general public and an illiterate society produces illiterate people, whilst a literate society produces intelligentia. Therefore it can be argued that the primary issue in which improvement is needed is the education facilities. By improving these facilities the people of this area will be able to get their due shares in provincial as well as in centre superior services, they will thereby be able to serve their district and will play a role for the development of this district. As mentioned above this district is very backward compared with a district of its division, besides the fact that climatically and intellectually this district is forward. Almost all the Gold Medal winners belong to

*2nd division*

^ ^

for getting a seriously ill patient to this theatre. The theatre is not air-conditioned, and in summer and winter the patient as well as the doctors are facing hardships. The water flow to this theatre is also inadequate.

There is one laboratory in this hospital, but no qualified pathologist is available, nor is the laboratory equipped with modern instruments for testing so only very few tests can be carried out. This laboratory has not been developed or improved over a long period of 35 years. There is only one old large size X-Ray plant in which X-Rays by payment of fees are allowed.

In the case of admitting a patient a lot of effort is required. After admission you have to arrange your own bulk, medicines, sweepers for cleaning the bed area; moreover, you have to pay a lump sum to each and every member of the hospital staff otherwise you will be liable for discharge from the hospital. During the stay in hospital you will presume that you are staying in an " stable " of horses, everywhere you will see piles of rubbish, dogs etc. and the nullahs in the hospital are in a clumsy position. The front grounds of the hospital are like barren lands - no flower beds or beautiful parks in spite of the fact that there is plenty of land around the hospital and staff are kept for maintenance purposes. No-one takes any interest in the performance of this hospital, and if a patient is seriously ill no doctor can be found without paying a fee.

In short, if any patient is admitted to the hospital instead of recovering he will lose his health, and as such this hospital is not the place of patients; but if a healthy gentleman happens to

enter this hospital he will soon consider himself to be a patient due to the dirty and clumsy situation in this hospital. Therefore, in spite of reducing disease, it is also helping to increase disease.

This situation of the hospital is reported to the higher authorities time and time again, but the health department authorities are favouring colleagues and are not ready to change the situation - as such the public are paying the cost of the inefficiency of the health department authorities.

On the other hand there is one civil Zanana Hospital in this district. According to our religion, the females of this district are "Parda" observers and the people do not like to admit their females into male hospitals, neither do they like their females to be treated by male doctors. Therefore a separate Zanana hospital has been constituted by the government. But the same conditions prevail in the Zanana hospital as in the Male hospital. In fact, it is even worse due to non-entrance of male members and the illiteracy of female members, the female doctors and nurses treat the female patients cruelly, and fees are charged to them during hospital hours.

Except for providing medical prescriptions and minor operations, no further facility is available in this hospital to the general public. Only one lady doctor (MBBS) is posted there and no specialist lady doctor is available.

Adjacent to the Zanana Hospital is the T.B. Hospital, which is run by a simple MBBS doctor. It would be most helpful if a T.B. specialist doctor was posted there; this is not the sole problem but this hospital represents the scene of a very disturbed and dirty place. This hospital is the source of spreading T.B., and cannot

control the disease. A special T.B. Association is functioning in Bannu. This association collects funds from the public and provides funds to the T.B. Hospital, but the incharge of this hospital does not provide free medicines to the poor patients, although it is said that this hospital does provide free medicines to poor patients.

Due to these inadequate medical facilities, people generally go to Peshawar which is a provincial headquarter and where foreign qualified doctors are available for the treatment of simple cases such as gastric, appendix etc. which clearly shows that the people avoid check-ups by the local inadequate doctors.

In the city, a number of private practitioners are working. For instance, in the district headquarters there are only 6 MBBS private practitioners. They only prescribe medicines to the patients, and no other facility for patients is available. There are some Rural Health Centres but most of these are lying without staff, and all are without equipment and operating theatres. Thus, these rural health centres do not remedy public grievance - indeed, they are a burden on the public because huge amounts of funds have been spent on these centres.

In the city we saw the compounders of which most are not qualified compounders, and they treat the people just like doctors. Most of the shops have signboards stating - chemist, druggist and medical hall and we saw in their hand " " ?  
They do not know the ABC of medical courses, and most of them are educated up to 4th and K.G. class but they are known as qualified doctors. This is all due to the non-availability of qualified doctors, and in general the poor people cannot approach the few

Shawla ?



which are available, therefore they prefer to be treated by these illiterate so-called doctors. Somewhere you will see Unani Hakims and they will also be in possession of stethoscopes. All these games are played in the presence of law and law enforcing agencies, as well as health authorities but they do not dare to intervene due to their own loopholes. Thus the poor people are crushed; most of the patients expire due to the wrong medicines given to them by these laymen or due to non-availability of proper and immediate medical aid.

In view of this, it has been proved that this district is still in need of proper medical services. Not only improvement, but also to establish this basic facility; and to make this facility so easily available that every poor member of the public can make use of it. If this situation cannot be overcome then it cannot be considered development.

It is accepted that some efforts have been made, but that in this scientific area the Eastern countries are too "far gone" and the basic human problems cannot be overcome. It is correct that some health centres have been increased, but if staff are not available then of what use are these centres.

The health department authorities have not paid any attention to the cleanliness of the city and other areas - the dust and dirt in the area is a source of increasing disease, especially T.B., Asthma and other diseases. So the basic need of the public is that they be provided medical services free of any cost - according to the maxim "A healthy body has a healthy mind", and if the bodies

are not healthy then what about their minds?

It is therefore suggested to and demanded from the government that a medical college be opened in Bannu which will produce sufficient doctors and these doctors would then be in a much better position to serve their own area.

Due to the fact that the doctors from the rest of the province are not prepared to work in Bannu because this district is a backward one and no attractions are available to them to work there, they prefer to serve in Peshawar and Mardan etc. - cities where their sons and daughters can receive education and the best medical services which are not available in Bannu. This is one of the reasons why most of the seats are always lying vacant thereby causing hardship to the poor people.

In short, the medical services in Bannu are most inadequate and troublesome for the people. Therefore, a complete overhaul is required in this sector.

### (iii) Roads and Transport

#### Roads

Roads play an important role in the development of the country as well, as the public is not able to fulfil its needs without communication facilities. It is worth mentioning here that from 1947 to date some efforts have been made, but if it is analysed these efforts are equal to nothing.

#### Bannu-Mandan Road

This road is about 15 miles long and is in the same condition as it was before partition. About 80 wagons, 15 buses, 200 targas and

other such like transportation use this road, but all of these are in great trouble as the hedges lining the road are broken, there are holes on the sides of the road, and the width of the metal road is only four fathoms which is also damaged and without repair. The people of this area have many times demanded immediate widening and reconstruction according to the increased population and traffic on this road; this road also passes through the most thickly populated area of Bannu, but the government have paid no attention.

From the same road a branch road leads to Haved, about 5 miles long, but this is also in a very bad condition. Now that the people of this area announce the launching of the long march, then the government assured the construction of the Pacca road, but up till now the work on this road has not yet started.

#### Bannu Mirian

This road is also in the same pre-partition condition, while a huge population and traffic use this road.

#### Bannu Kurram Garhi Road

This road is also in the same old condition.

#### Bannu Shahbaz Azmat Khel Road

This road was constructed up to Bazar Ahmad Khan during the British regime, and the remaining  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles of road up to Shahbaz Azmat Khel is now constructed.

#### Bannu Azim Kala Road

This 12 mile road is now constructed but is not sufficient for the population of 20000 people who reside in this area. The area is sandy and is in great need of communication but except for this one road, no other paccā road is available.

### Bannu Daryoba Road

This road was constructed after 1960. The village in which I reside is one furlong in distance from the city but no road is available to this village.

Except for the above few roads no proper communication to the big villages/areas is available. If compared to other districts such as Peshawar or Mardan it is said that nothing has been done in this district.

Fourteen miles of road from Bannu to Peshawar has been constructed which is the show case of Bannu, and similarly from Bannu towards Dikhan 25 miles of road has been constructed, and from Tayazai to Lakki 12 miles of road.

One special treatment which was made with Bannu was that in 1974, the government approved Indus Highway passing through Bannu. This highway was constructed by the Foreign Aid railway line and runway for emergency was also in the scheme. But in 1975, this scheme was revised and Bannu was omitted from the scheme - this was during the Bhutto regime. The people of this area cried; they made processions and during the tour of Prime Minister Bhutto a demand was made to him that Bannu be included in this scheme. But the government paid no attention towards this demand. This highway was mainly for defence purposes and Bannu is 52 miles distance from the Afghanistan Border. Although this highway was mostly needed in Bannu which is an important district attached to such agencies who have a plain border with Afghanistan, it was neglected. But, after the dissolution of Bhutto's government, this scheme was dropped.

At the end of the day, it is said that something has been done, but compared to other districts then very nominal progress has been achieved.

#### Transportation

Bannu has achieved progress in this field because it is a private business. Some time before no other transportation was available except Tanga; but, at present, a huge number of Suzuki, Datsun, Mazda, Toyota and buses are available. However, the owners are always reluctant to use kacha roads, and this creates a hindrance for this facility. This is still not sufficient for the needs of the public, thereby causing difficulty to the public in a Datsun where only 12 seats are available the owners sit 25 passengers; some are standing behind, and some are sitting upon one another. No local government service is available unlike other districts to facilitate public requirements.

If the transportation problem was the responsibility of the government then surely no progress would be achieved; but, luckily, this rests in the hands of the public.

#### 2 (ii) Treatment of Criminals

Criminals are to be treated rigourously. The ratio of crimes in Bannu is increasing daily and the only solution to control crime is to change the present legal system of the country. If a person sows wheat, rice cannot be grown, what you sow you will cut. Such is the example of our Society. This is an Islamic country and the inhabitants are Muslims; so the muslims are governed by muslim rules. The injunctions of Islam teach in a more proper way than the teachings

of the east or west. Our own system is the best one amongst all the others. It covers the social, economic, cultural, State administration etc. When these rules were applicable no criminals were available. If this system is started in our country this will be the natural treatment of these criminals. However, before this criminals could be treated as:

- i) To increase the punishment for the crimes
- ii) To finish the present system of providing every kind of facility in jails, but to provide factories and hard work should be taken from these criminals in jails.
- iii) The police should be more honest and well equipped.
- iv) The number of courts should be increased and all the magistrates should be law graduates. At present most of the magistrates who decide the criminal cases do not know the law at all, as they are not law graduates.

This will be the different side and the criminals of our country can be treated by this way and the reformatory theory is not so successful in this worst environment.

## 2 (v) Child Welfare

No welfare facilities for children are available. There are very many valuable plots/grounds in the heart of Bannu city that are lying as deserts but in rural areas no-one can think of these facilities.

- (vi) Other please specify. In my opinion there are many other items of which this district is in dire need.

Page missing?

people are almost unemployed, but this can be changed by installing a mill.

(iii) This district is further in need of technical education and a medical college.

4. The plots and vacant city land can be given on lease to the public which can earn money for the government and this can be spent on the development of this district. If the surrounding wall is demolished and replaced by shops, at least 3000 or more shops can be constructed - it can give an income in crores in spite of other sources this is the main one.

One thing worth mentioning here, is that in whatever sector the government is prepared to invest a good deal of money, that sector will earn the government more money.

5. In this city all the three items require more provisions because at present the provisions are insufficient.

(iv) (i) This district is greatly in need of a Civil Colony for government servants, as at present no accommodation is available for them in this district.

(ii) This district is in need of satellite towns - at present, none are available.

(iii) This district is greatly in need of shopping centres, as there are no organized shopping centres available. There should be separate markets for every kind of commodity, with clean atmosphere.

(iv) This district is in need of new Bus/Truck stands outside the city because these are at present in the city and cloud it with dirt and dust.

my LLB Degree in first class. After that I passed my M.A. Islamiyat at Peshawar university in 1980 in first class.

16. 30 years

17. I have the following qualifications/certificates:

Matric  
F.A.  
B.A.  
LLB.  
M.A. Islamiyat

I am also in possession of the following certificates:

- i) Police Training Certificate
- ii) Nation Guards Certificate (Janbaz) I was  
2nd company commander of my company.

I am further in possession of many certificates and merits.

18. As a Muslim, and according to the injunctions of Islam I believe in no class. All muslims/human-beings are equal in status, except those who are pious. A pious man has a higher status than a non-pious man; but, according to the Eastern classification, I belong to the middle class.

19. In a half katcha and half pacca house.

20. For about Rs2000 per month or above, we can happily pass our time in these hard days with our monthly income.



## ANSWERS

From: Saeed Hameedud Din.

- 1) I have witnessed retrograde changes. Before Independence Bannu city was classed as the second cleanest city of the province. Now, it has huge piles of garbage at every step. Its roads and streets, male and female primary high schools and hospitals were clean and tidy. Today they present a very unkempt and dishevelled spectacle - one is apt to mourn the good old days. A very small number of houses have been rebuilt since Independence. Scores of big and spacious houses and apartments are either rented by different branches of commercial banks or different offices of government departments. City Wall, a reminder of medieval times still encircles the city, nine out of ten city gates are closed just after dusk, and access to the city at night in a car or tonga is only possible through one gate which is kept open. If one enters the city from the south, the sights of narrow gauge Bannu, the main Indian Railway System, derives sarcasm even from a punjabi peasant. This railway system belongs to the era of Queen Victoria. And if one enters the city from the north, the condition of Kurram Bridge enfeebled by age and infirmities still more decries progress and development. There were two cinema houses before Independence and the same two are carrying on even today. There was one public library before Independence - the same library is barely existing while the number of books, periodicals, journals etc. has highly dwindled down. The same is the case with playgrounds - before Independence there were eight hockey grounds and five football grounds - most of these grounds have vanished.

- 2) Education facilities.
- 3) Before the Independence the city had a sufficient number of male and female primary and high schools. Most of the schools were run by charitable institutions established by the Hindus, Sikhs and Christians. In all these schools cleanliness, discipline and a high standard of education prevailed. In the hot season, school rooms were kept cool by indigenous long wood and cloth fans which were manually driven.

Today, most of the primary schools do not have any cooling system at all, even drinking water is carried from their homes by most of the baby students. The number of primary students is so high in all the city schools that the teaching of one class of students is conducted at the expense of other classes, because all the classes sit together in the same congested place. Much has been written about this in the newspapers but nothing has been done to alleviate the sad plight of primary schools. It seems as if pity for the poor school-children is totally vanquished from the hearts of present day Pakistanis.

- 4) Wealthy people send their children to schools run in containment areas where right of entry is reserved. Children of poor people are compelled to get education in dense suffocative hot, or chilly dark houses. Things can only be straightened if a government of the people by the people for the people is established in the country.
- 5) Committee Houses.
- 6) Use of fertilizers, farm tractors, bull-dozers, wheat thrashers have started in agriculture. These things were non-existent

before Independence.

- 7) Press is strictly under censorship in Pakistan. Most of the things I learn about my own country comes through the radio viz. B.B.C. London, V.O.A., Voice of West Germany etc. I do sometimes purchase a copy of the Daily Nawai Waqt when it voices the demand for democracy.
- 8) Pakistani journals have lost their readership because of the imposition of censorship and are not available at the book-stalls in Bannu City.
- 9) - NIL -
- 10) Two sons, two daughters, self, wife, and one very weak and old woman who has sought shelter in our house. Total of seven.  
Services for the elderly are non-existent in this city.
- 11) 53 years old.
- 12) Married.
- 13) Retired Airman, am living on pension and coaching students.
- 14) Yes.
- 15) a) Government High School No.1, Bannu City.  
b) B. Neb Raj Talwan Sanatan Dharam Intermediate Colleges, Bannu City.
- 16) 17 years
- 17) a) High School Certificate  
b) F.A. (Arts)
- 18) Working class.
- 19) Half-brick, half-mud house.
- 20) Nearly Rs. 730 per month.

ANSWERS

From: Begum G.M. Sattar, Councillor, Municipal Committee, BANNU.

- 1) Yes, it is changing into modern cities slowly and steadily.
- 2) In need of improvement, on top priority basis given below:
  - i) Child Welfare, as it is the foundation stone of the coming generation.
  - ii) Education of Science and Technology.
  - iii) Elderly need services and attendance.
  - iv) Fast transport needed.
  - v) Criminal reforms needed to make the Society carefree.
  - vi) Medical services made available at cheap rates.
  - vii) Healthy animal required for the healthy society.
  - viii) Healthy recreation required for both children and the aged.
- 3) Peace of mind to have best results.
- 4) Low rate of population, lowest taxation and inspiration of zeal and love for work.
- 5) Low rent shops and houses required.
- 6) Machine age is evolving in the minds of the peasants. Modern fertilization, tractors, harvesters and threshers are not far off.
- 7) The Urdu Daily - Jang Rawalpindi. As it does not deal in Politics, it is thought provoking.
- 8) I read Akhbar-e-Khawateen (Karachi) and Akhbar-e-Jehan (Karachi).
- 9) Electronic Equipment i.e. radio, t.v., tape-recorders, refrigerators and air conditioning repairs have much scope.
- 10) We are nine family members.
- 11) I am fifty-two years old.
- 12) I am a married woman.
- 13) The head of the family is a small businessman.
- 14) I was born in the Bannu City proper.
- 15) I remained a student of the Government Girls High School. I studied up to Middle Standard.

- 16) I abandoned study at the age of sixteen years.
- 17) I have got only the School Leaving Certificate, I have no certificate, Diploma or Degree.
- 18) Middle class.
- 19) I live in a semi-modern Pucca house which is fully ventilated.
- 20) Some eighty hundred rupees a month.

## ANSWERS

From: Pir Akhtar Alishah, Advocate, BANNU.

- 1) The city area as compared to other cities in the province has remained unchanged proportionately very slow , since it was inhabited by Hindus before the advent of Pakistan. The exodists being Hindi evacuated for India en bloc, and the vacant houses provided sufficient opportunity for habitation by the Muslims, and thus great inertia has been shown by the population in respect of their action. Change in the size and structure of the city: in other words the city had enough of accommodation, therefore expansion became tardy.
- 2) This institution, as named medical services, is not looked upon with enough veneration, since the bulk of the ailing class comes from the proletariat, and medical men have become extremely materialistic, so much so that the poor class have never been in a position to satisfy medical men in their unquenchable thirst for wealth. The state is very much impervious to keep control over the medical profession. The Pakistan Government has fully realized the situation in which the poor public committee has been growing for a long time.
- 3) This medical profession is restricted in a way that only the privileged can get a seat in the medical colleges, and the student from the very beginning of his medical studies thinks in terms of his material gain. The ducation in the medical sphere is said to be greatly expensive, and even the poor are not allowed to get medical education. This policy of the government should be such that medical education should become cheaper and the indigent

should have free education at the cost of the government. It is very difficult unless a welfare state comes into being, then the exorbitant fees will come to an end.

- 4) The income system of the municipal committee is based on an action charges which is the principal item and millions of rupees accrue to the municipal coffers and it needs no change.
- 5) The growing society needs balanced life and, as such, the competition in the field of trade is retarded due to checks in the shape of black marketeering laws, profiteering and other laws. These kind of policy laws keep back adventurous trading from open competition. Instead of this class, smugglers have come in place of them. The government inwardly patronises the smugglers since the government officials receive their due share from their ventures.
- 6) The people of this area need little shops but the provisions within the shops should be conducive to the real needs and the materials catered be free from adulteration. If there are houses of the committee the main problem would remain unsolved. Why? - because houses would be allocated to committee employees and other government servants and the poor citizens will never be given any committee house on rental charges.

The allotment disease has become rampant all over the community, and people with influence are allotted rights on nominal charges.

Greater number of younger folk employed in the police force will help improve control of crimes, disciplinary measures in traffic and rising prices of goods and other edible goods, for they can help the civilians if the seller of any material is nasty to the purchaser.

- e) Various categories of young people, registered by the Government in the villages and the towns can be engaged by the contractors and other individuals in the time of need for various services.
- f) Some of them should be enlisted in government records for domestic work, private gardens maintenance and in the construction works of buildings all over. They can also be employed for spraying the insecticides.
- g) They can also be employed by the P.W.D. for proper road maintenance services, so that the condition of the roads can, by constant vigilance and manual work remain up to standard, to avoid a greater number of accidents.
- h) They can work as registered tutors for school-age children which is the urgent requirement of every parent.
- i) Literate ones can be engaged to conduct adult literacy classes everywhere, at all times, facilitating with the nearest approaching centres to the common working man and woman.



## ANSWERS

From: Zafrullah Khan, Additional Superintendant Police, BANNU.

- 1) Yes, to some extent.
- 2)   iii) Road and transport  
     viii) Education facilities
- 3)   ... 'Road and Transport' needs more funds and help from the World Bank, for an improvement in this line will add lustre to civilization, when people will be able to travel more comfortably and live in a more dignified manner with easy contacts on nominal costs. Its proper care will help the state with respect to all kinds of fields. They can also lend a hand in this respect, by working with a spirit of national betterment, for they have greater resources and if manpower is used in the correct way, it will cut down a lot of waste and save funds to build a better state. Road and transport should be considered an urgent necessity, as it has overall effects on industrial development as well as traffic amelioration, which is by itself a first class first category in administration. It should, really speaking, form a separate Department with high scales of pay, for its duty entails great vigilance, alertness, quick decisions, and greater prolificacy with communication facilities for higher national safeguards all round. Traffic police are still in need of finer equipment, for self-protection broad cast and effulgence. Due to narrow and hairpin bend roads in this part of the country mostly fatal accidents take place and precious lives are lost. Therefore wide roads need to be constructed.

4) ... If "This" in Q.4 has been used for Q.5, then:

- i) There should be more shops, both big and small, constructed according to the capacity of the tenants.
- ii) Committee houses, are very much the need of the hour, as the well organised one separate colonies, catering for all sorts of facilities.
- iii) Allotments are a must for the future developing factories and industries, workshops, markets, restaurants, hotels and parks in layout schemes. Godowns, cold storages, fuel and furniture stalls form a part of it.
- iv) Proper drainage system and excellent hygienic conditions to avoid infections of all kinds is a must in all-round reform measures.

6) Yes.

- 9) a) The younger ones can be utilized in developing arid areas, mountainous regions etc. by allotting some square yards to them to be their property entirely, as has been done in China. To quote an extract "they are given private plots on mountainsides, and wastelands on which to plant trees which then become their own property". ('China's Massive Tree Drive' by HAILAN)
- b) They can also be employed for cleanliness schemes and in giving a better look to dirty areas and environments; bus-stops, fruit and vegetable markets.
- c) In posh canteens for boys and girls, in and outside their institutions, for they partake of whatever dirty stuff is available to them from the pushcart owners on the roadside.
- d) Law and Order Department is very much handicapped for more staff.

## ANSWERS

From: Mohammad Aslam

- 1) Bannu City, where I have been for the last 40 years, has not changed much like other cities. However, some new houses have been built outside the four walls of the city haphazardly. Some of the new houses have no roads and have great difficulty getting electricity, water pipes and road facilities. Within the four walls of the city, old houses and shops have been re-built on modern designs.
- 2) All the the nine items are badly in need of improvement. Priority may be given to road transport. The fourth item "services for the elderly" is just a new thing for Pakistanis. At present we can't even dream of it. We shall have either to become true Muslims as Islam teaches us to serve and behave humanely to the elders, or we shall have to copy the English and other non-Muslims who have regard for humanity. The ninth item "other, please specify" I think it may be named as "moral character". We, at present, lack moral character and hence we need improvement in medical services etc. etc. and the amount specified for each item is not duly spent.
- 3) We also require thinking about sanitation. Sweepers are becoming scanty day by day and a sewage system shall have to be introduced.
- 4) The income system already in practice is quite sufficient. We we need to use it appropriately.
- 5) In this city/area of Bannu there should be more provision of shops, bazaars, committee houses with cheaper rents for the committee employees and citizens. It is essential to make

arrangements for satellite towns and cheap accommodation equipped with all the modern facilities.

- 6) Yes, there are some changes but the process is very slow. Some of the land owners and tillers have purchased tractors and some hire and use them. Many of the land owners own very small tracts of land, and tractors cannot be used in such divided and small tracks. Before Independence, we had a large number of hard working tillers, who have now become old and have retired. Their children have been educated - some are above matriculation, and some are below; they neither get employment, nor have the courage and energy to take up the profession of their ancestors in the hard work of tilling the land. So there is a scarcity of tillers.

- 7)           i) The Daily "Jang" Rawalpindi  
          ii) The Daily "Alfalah" Peshawar  
          iii) The Daily "Nawai Waqt" Rawalpindi  
          iv) The Daily Pakistan Times  
          v) The Daily "Muslim" Islamabad  
          vi) The Daily "Khyber Mail" Peshawar.

- 8) Yes, the Weekly "Tarjaman-i-Haq" Bannu. This paper contains only religious articles while it ought to have "Bannu news" as well.

- 9) I am 67 years old.

- 10) Five persons

- 11) Opportunities of employment in government services are very few; however, there are chances of working as tillers of lands.

- 12) I am married.

- 13) Proprietor of a chemist and druggist shop.

- 14) I was born in a village some 5/6 miles away from Bannu City.

- 15) I passed the matriculation examination from the local Government High School; I got a compounders certificate from the civil

hospital in Bannu, and a diploma from the Medical Practitioners' College, Lahore.

- 16) I finished full-time education when I was seventeen/nineteen years of age.
- 17) Yes.
- 18) Working, middle class.
- 19) My house is made of Pukka and Katcha bricks.
- 20) My family never keeps and never have kept accounts. Anyhow, our earnings are scarcely sufficient to meet our expenses.

INTERVIEWEE: MALIK BAHADUR KHAN (Ex. MBA BANNU)

Q. What is your view of the Nurar, Mirian and Landidak areas of Bannu District?

A. A few years ago one could hardly expect any green crops in this area. The area was lying barren. After the partition, Kurram Garhi project and Baran Dam contributed a lot for the agricultural activities in this area. After independence in 1947, the area has become much more attractive to the farmers due to irrigation canals and permanent water supply. Before this all the people of Thana Mirian area had fled, due to draught and poverty, to other parts of the district in search of livelihood such as labourers in Bannu City. Now that a suitable environment population has come back to this area, they are growing sugar cane, cotton, garlic and turmeric etc. About 5 to 6 square miles area beyond Lohra Nala and far beyond up to Manzai Tank, including parts of Lakki subdivision, people are getting irrigation water and altogether, including Janikhel area, 30 to 35 square miles are benefitting from the Marwat Canal irrigation system. Most of the cultivable waste has been changed to cultivated land.

Q. Marwat Canal was previously called RBC (Right Bank Canal) and its purpose was only to provide water to Mirian and Landidak area. But afterwards, its name and purpose both changed. What is your opinion about this?

A. At the time of construction, the Chief Engineer was Mr. Sarwar Jan (who was a Marwat) and he had a good deal of land which needed water - he brought some changes into the system for personal reasons. Baran Dam itself was for Bannu Tehsil, and after this, if there was excess supply, for the Lakki Sub-division - they did not think this was a crime at all. What happened was that all the supply of Landidak was cut and water was carried to Lakki. The irrigation system in this area was traditional. Altogether there are 17 shares from Kurram Rives, out of which 4 shares are utilized by Sorani area people and 13 shares are diverted into the Katchkot Canal. According to Riway-e-Aabpashi, from Amandi to Thana Mandan is the area called Bila Tauyyun which means they are allowed to use as much water as they require and that is the right of the people of other areas. From Kachkot there are two vials called Sangari and Teleram. Sangari gets its share but Teleram, from which the Landidak area was to be irrigated with an 1/8 right on entire Kachkot flow, was entirely cut and Teleram was linked with the Sangari vial. The result of this is that Mamakhel and Landidak area have now only a limited supply of water. In particular, this action of the irrigation department official brought disaster to the Landidak area. A large area of cultivated land was turned to dry land.

Q What are the factors of depopulation in this area?

A. This village is known as Kotka Sadda Khoni. Before the Kurram Garhi project this was a thriving village, but due to the tampering with the Teleram and Sangari vial existing system the village lost irrigation supply and was abandoned. This area is known as Nari Mir Abbas; due to waterlogging and salinity in this area, settlements disappeared and land which was cultivated once has been badly damaged. This area was installed with a tube well and then the government constructed 'Irabs', with the result that the disaster caused by waterlogging is now controlled. These Irabs need cleaning which has not been carried out for a long time, and there is growing danger again from the salinity.

Q. Is agriculture in your area mechanised? If so, do you get assistance from the Department of Agriculture?

A. All tractors in this area are private or hired property. The charges for tractor are 50 rupees per hour approximately. The assistance from the agriculture department in the shape of loans etc. is not distributed to the people who deserve it. It is difficult for the people of this area to even reach the office, and if by chance they do go, they might be taken as thieves.

About the tractor loans from the ADBP I have to say this: People in this area are strict Muslims and they do not accept any aid with interest. I personally requested the general manager of the bank to provide tractors in return for cash. However, he declined to sell the tractors for cash



as it was against the policy to exchange international tractors without interest. People simply refused all dealings involving interest as it is against their faith.

Q. Do you see any agricultural change in the Landidak area?

A. This village to which I am making reference about agricultural activities is now called "Bazid Landi Dak", with some small hamlets called Kotka Mir Qalam Abad etc. Agricultural activities are mainly due to the tube well and lift-irrigation system installed by me with the idea of providing drinking water to the settlers as well as for irrigation purposes.

This land was reclaimed after great efforts and I personally supervised all the preparation of 'kuris' beds and terraces and anti-erosion measures by making funds wherever necessary. After investment of huge sums and using bulldozers etc. now the damaged land has taken the shape of a productive area with plum, pear and apple gardens. In this village the road is also built privately. Before independence, only after rain once in three years, there used to be some cultivation, now the area is almost evergreen. Fruit is on demand in Bannu market. Besides fruit trees, bamboo is very quickly growing in Bazid area. I am planning to grow this tree in 1000 kanal area. All this development which you see is entirely private effort

whereas govt., has not extended any encouragement or help to this area or uplifted the agriculture. All afforestation is due to the efforts of my father Malik Mir za ali khan, currently these trees number more than 50,000 which is a healthy sign in Landidak area. I spent about 33,000 rupees to get electricity for the tube wells. We do hear much about the Agriculture Department and its staff but for farmers and land owners no one is available for suggesting or the application of anticides. In all this union council Nurar area there is only one supervisor and one beldar which is not enough. If I engage the beldar he can hardly finish my area in one year. It was necessary for the Agriculture Department to encourage the farmers of this area by introducing small exhibition plots of sugar cane, but their trend is to show all the activities on road sides, mostly plots of their friends are provided with the best seeds etc. In Landidak area I engaged Mohmands farmers from Peshawar to introduce sugar cane into this area.

Q. What is the maximum maize yield in this area?

A. 56 to 60 maunds per acre. The variety that was grown was called Swabi white and help was provided by Mohmand farmers by my private arrangement.

Q. There are some abandoned hamlets near Buzid Landidak.

Could you tell us about them?

A. They were houses provided by me for tenants and I had an idea some eight years ago to bring in some tenant farmers.

But due to irregular cleaning of 'Irabs' the site was again caught badly by water logging and salinity and these houses began to fall and nobody wanted to move to such an unhealthy situation. If the 'scarp' had taken some timely action, then you could have seen this site as a very big village, by this time, as the foundations were laid ten years ago. Again I fear that if Scarp division does not come to the rescue the entire area will again become a marsh. The sad fact is that all their tubewells are on roadsides too and not in the affected interior of Bannu particularly Nari area in Landidak. Only two or three tubewells can change the destiny of the people.

Q. As the area is divided into big holdings and waste fields in many respects, what is the possibility of dairy farming in this area?

A. In my opinion, the area is best for dairy farming but again it needs government help. Biogas plants can successfully grow and there is plenty of fodder available.

Q. Could you tell us about the origin of Kotka Mirza Ali and its inhabitants?

A. The present site is an old village called 'Muzzafari'. Due to non-availability of water, waterlogging, and salinity the entire population migrated to adjoining areas, and the land was purchased by my father at the rate of Rs.15 per kanal. The first house in the new settlement was this three storey building. Purposefully, it has a tower to safeguard the

village as the area is on the boundary with another tribe and, in early days, we faced a lot of difficulties in starting this settlement especially from the point of view of security. A watchman used to take care of the property of new settlers after dusk. All the material for the construction of this kotka was brought on donkeys from Haved as there was no such road here before. The labour came from Sorani area in Bannu (my native area) and slowly and gradually the village took shape and has a boundary wall. Due to the introduction of a tubewell, the people's tents took the shape of mud houses. Electricity is now used by the neighbouring landlords for their tubewells. Initially, it took me three years to get the connection during West Pakistan time (one unit).

Q. How many new settlements are there in your land?

A. One is old Bazid, New Muzzafari and New Kotka Mir Za Ali, with 34 houses altogether.

Q. How many tenants and their family members are there in these settlements?

A. 500 persons approximately. These tenants now tend to keep the dry animals of the city area, and after keeping them for a while, when the animals are ready to give milk, the owner takes them back by paying suitable money to these tenants.

Q. How large is this estate reclaimed and brought under cultivation by you?

A. 1300 kanals fully cultivated and approximately 6000 kanals

(including the property of some other landlords needs to be reclaimed). We are still using manure - not the artificial fertilizers like urea etc. As these are expensive and especially in return the price of, for example, sugar cane is Rs.4 per maund which is nothing. It is unprofitable to use chemical fertilizers. But this year the government has taken some good steps and has marked the price of sugar cane up to Rs.9 per maund and we are encouraged to grow sugar cane. If the price of sugar cane goes up next year then, in the entire area I will grow sugar cane, and I hope every farmer will try to grow more and more so that sugar production can then be exported.

Q. Are there health facilities in this area?

A. In 1977 when I was M.P. and the government policy was to establish a basic hospital for the population of 10,000, and I had demand in the assembly and was successful in getting sanction for 4 basic hospitals, two for this area and 2 for Sorani area. These are located in Union Council Lalozi, Union Council Dharma Khel, Union Council Dre Darez and Union Council Bharat. These basic hospitals are provided with new equipment and have a capacity for 10 beds. In this area we need a few dispensaries and a vet hospital. We still have a drinking water problem. Nurar area was totally dependant on flood water in Tochi but during the time of the past government, a tubewell was sunk and now (from house to house) they have a tap water supply. In this respect Sorani area is

lucky too as it also got tubewells. Other areas still face hardship by getting water from wells which are 100 to 120 yards deep.

Q. What about the educational development of your area?

A. After partition, Bannu has achieved a lot in the field of education. Pre-partition there were only five high schools in Bannu namely Govt., Islamia, S. Dharm, Khalsa, Mission. But now the number is exceeding 30, there being a large change in enrollment with an increase in the population. Bannu has now got a girls high school too. It is true that Pathan people normally agree not to send their girls to schools or colleges. But there are educated parents who have realised the importance of female education. These educated pathan parents do not necessarily send their daughters to schools for jobs after education. But education has a pleasant impact on happy home life. Bazar Ahmed Khan area now has a girls high school. Dharma Khel Sorani area does have a girls middle school, and our demand is for its up-gradation.

Q. When political activities were allowed, I reckon your demand was about the construction of 40 tubewells on Kachkot canal to ensure a permanent irrigation water supply. What happened to that?

A. My demand in the assembly was not only about 40 tubewells of Kachkot but also about 10 tubewells for Teleram canal (the supply of which was cut and brought disaster to Landidak area) and 4 for Issaki and 4 for Mandan area. Few people objected to

it and demanded to sink all the 40 tubewells of Kachkot canal only in the tail, but I defended my point of view to construct the tubewell from the beginning of the Kachkot canal, which is logical due to the unpredictable flow of Kurram.

- Q. There is a growing demand for residential accommodation in Bannu, and in city suburbs a lot of construction has been undertaken during the past few years. But the city defence wall to many people seems to be a hurdle in the expanding city. What is your opinion about this matter?
- A. I do not agree with it all. The residential problem is not the city defence wall but, in fact, the outskirts of the city are not safe due to kidnappings etc. Nobody is willing to build houses outside the walled city, therefore pressure is high on existing small city limits. I would prefer a satellite town scheme rather than demolishing the existing city defence wall and merging it with the suburbs. More recently, due to Datsun and Suzuki wagons people commute to the city from villages, and pressure on the already acute problem of residential accommodation in the city itself is lifted as many shopkeepers and other services people reside in the nearby villages. So due to the safety factor, the defence wall is necessary to control crime and traffic accidents etc.
- Q. With all these growing numbers of trucks, lorries and buses, is Bannu currently facing a traffic problem?

- A. Trucks and big lorries are not responsible for traffic problems. Only passenger bus stands are creating traffic havoc. This is the monopoly of private commission agents, and if some one tries to move the case with the Municipal Committee or the Cantonment Board then these agents put on pressure and therefore we cannot get proper bus stands run by the Bannu Municipal authorities. If the present bus stands are moved further away from populated areas, there will be plenty of room for markets to be built and other trading centres too. Rather we can expect squares like Soekano Square of Peshawar here in Bannu and the overall layout of the present city centre can be beautifully planned. During martial law, the bus stand problem can easily be solved otherwise in civil government there will be stay order and suits etc.
- Q. What is your opinion about a complete take-over of the area 5 miles radius in an around the city centre under municipal jurisdiction to safeguard future planned construction?
- A. In my mind only 2 square miles is needed to put under municipal jurisdiction. I fully agree with planned construction. I have not been abroad, but I hear that land is used for flats with great planning whereas with us we are after big bungalows of 14 kanals which is not sensible at all.
- Q. Are there sufficient shops and markets in Bannu?
- A. In Bannu the municipal committee has several sites lying without any purpose and these can be used for the construction of shops and markets which can provide jobs for many needy



people. I have been working with Bannu Municipal Committee in several positions since 1952 - sometimes Chairman or Vice-Chairman etc. All the shops and market outside Lakki Gate, Qasaban Gate Dalasa park shopping centre and all shops near the Library outside Predy gate were built during my chairmanship. I am in favour of building shops along with the city defence wall from Madrassa Mirajul Aloom onwards which can be a future busy bazaar providing livelihood to many people in Bannu. The Municipal Committee has 9ft wide belt stretches with the city wall which is 4ft at the base itself. This 13ft wide area can be utilized for shops with suitable length. There is another suitable area for markets behind the district jail where people sell sugar cane etc. and the place is an open market now. The same pattern like market near Munawar Khan residence can be followed successfully.

Bannu does not have proper vegetable markets so far. Garlic, an important cash crop, is sold anywhere in the city street. Hundreds of tangas pour into the city every day creating problems in an already overpopulated city centre. For separate vegetable market demand every person will agree with me.

- Q. How effectively is zakat distributed among the deserving people in Bannu.
- A. I would suggest that in spite of giving individual help to the people, the government should build a centre on a place

lying within the Auguf Department. In this centre they should provide necessary food and there should be a big dormitory, a dispensary and washing facilities for old, blind and poor people. If the government spent zakat money this way then you would hardly see any beggars and professional beggars would disappear - only desperate people would benefit from this social service.

Q. Finally for the welfare of Bannu and its people, what is your opinion?

A. As a long term benefit, I would like this area to be advanced as regards industry - we have very few industries.

INTERVIEWEE: MALIK GUL NAWAZ (Councillor) - Member Local Council  
Nurar (Founder of Harcha Killa)

Q. Which is your native village?

A. Tapi Ghulam Qadir.

Q. How long and why did you move to this site?

A. I have this piece of land and it was all cultivated and profitable. But there were poor, homeless people like 'Hamsaya' around and I decided to accommodate them and distributed the land among them equally (2 kanal, per person to build their homes. My intention was to merely help them and provide them with some place to live. I personally moved to this new site first to ensure that they will be safe.

Q. Which type of people came to this village?

A. They belong to various services groups like carpenters, painters, barbers, potters, and farmers. Some are in the government service and the body makers which is an expanding industry for buses and trucks. The majority are labourers and they are really very nice people.

Q. Why did they come to this village?

A. First they heard my name and thanked God with good reputation and they envisaged their peace and protection. These people did not own even a single marla land anywhere on this earth, but as I told you I gave them 2 kanals each just on cost price - sense of ownership was a great attraction to these property-less people.

- Q. In this new settlement, who has contributed to building Mosques, Chowks, Tanks, Wells etc.?
- A. For the provision of all these facilities I paid the money and provided the land. These people provided free labour to build these necessary places for their own benefit.
- Q. Was this an abrupt decision to establish a village here, or was there any other reason for this?
- A. I was having Hamsays and my relatives also have some. But they were cruel to them, which I simply could not withstand, and I decided to transform this land property into a thriving village of poor but very sincere people of such kind who were suffering under the tyranny of their masters (my own group). I knew their (poor Hamsaya) feelings very well. They used to change their home day to day with all their belongings, according to the desire and wishes of their malikes. Even I know they were beaten and thrown out. I could not afford to let all this happen any more; so I then founded this village to provide some sort of relief for them and their children.
- Q. Are you planning some further steps to develop this open small settlement?
- A. I am prepared to spend money if I could get electricity, which is my priority. As the village does not have any drinking water facilities I am trying to get sanctions for a tube well.

At the same time I am trying for primary school and for preliminary medical facilities.

Q. How many houses have so far been built in your new village?

A. More than 200 with a population of more than 1000 people.

Q. As you pointed out that electricity is your priority, did you ever meet the concerned department for your demand?

A. Yes - but, they say that it is not our turn yet, and they are busy handling other cases. I know that without paying 8000 to 10,000 I will not get any supply which I have offered to them already. As regards educational facilities, I am in touch with the department, and the Chairman of the District Council - Mr. Khudadad Khan - has promised a tube well to this new village.

Q. From your village are there any farmers who are cultivating land nearby?

A. Yes, they cultivate in and around the village area in the range of 20-100 kanals.

Q. How many children do you have, and what is their profession?

A. I have five children. One is in Saudi Arabia, one is a tractor driver (and the tractor belongs to him), and another one is in school.

Q. Who has built the road?

A. This was our responsibility, and I have contacted the authority to take the road into government possession, so that if I am not there these people will not face any dispute. Through personal influence I succeeded in constructing this road, and

I would very much like it paved by the government, but this will only be possible when it is in their care. To reach the village people are using all sort of conveyances like Datsun, Suzuki wagons, Tanga motor cycles etc. With the growing population the road should be metalled as early as possible.

INTERVIEWEE: WAKIL KHAN (A Newcomer)

Q. What is your profession?

A. I am a farmer

Q. When did you move to this village?

A. Yesterday, to my house which I built two years ago.

Q. How do you feel while you are here now?

A. I found warm brotherly-like feelings, and most important is the goodwill which I found here.

INTERVIEWEE: NASIM KHAN OF MOMBATI BARAKZAI, BANNU (an old man)

Q. Uncle, what is your name?

A. Nasim Khan.

Q. How old are you?

A. A little less than 100 years.

Q. In this village where you live, have you noticed any improvement since the English left and the state of Pakistan came into being?

A. I have 'nt noticed any. There are many aspects to improvement. The only one I see is the amount of money circulating has increased.

Q. Where does this money come from?

A. This is the work of God. There was a time when we could not find a penny to give to a beggar (fakirs) or to bury our dead. And time has changed so much so that even a widow has a bank balance.

Q. You are the senior person in this village, why is it called 'Mombati'?

A. Mombati was the founder of this village. Before the British annexation of the area, Mombati came from Kabul and he was my great grandfather.

Q. Do you remember how much land in this area was barren?

A. The only cultivated area was along the bank of Tochi river, other land was barren. When the new canals were introduced, much new land was brought under cultivation. But some still remains to be cultivated.

INTERVIEWEE: MALIK MUMTAZ BARAKZAI AREA BANNU (A ZAMINDAR)

Q. After the creation of Pakistan in 1947, did you notice any improvements in this area?

A. Yes, I have seen improvements.

Q. Agricultural developments, if any?

A. Yes, after partition canals were constructed and we obtained water for irrigation.

Q. With this improvement did you see any change in the standard of living of the people of your area?

A. Now people are wealthier and their income has increased with the availability of irrigation water, this barren area has now become cultivable land.

Q. Does the Department of Education provide adequate facilities for the children of the area?

A. Before partition there were only two schools in this area. Now every village and Kotka has a school.

Q. The road by which I travelled to this village was half paved and half kacha. How does this compare with the situation before Pakistan?

A. Yes, you are right. The road is only half paved, and I appeal to the authorities to finish the paving of the entire link road because during the rainy season, the village is cut from other areas and we cannot transport sugar cane quickly from the fields to the factory.



- Q. Barakzai area has a population of approximately 10,000 people. Do you have a dispensary or any other health facilities?
- A. We do not have any facilities such as hospitals etc.
- Q. What are the arrangements for the provision of drinking water for the people in the area?
- A. The water table in this area is 250'-300' below surface. The only way to get at this water is by way of wells, which requires much human effort, and by the time we manage to get at this water, we are so exhausted we cannot enjoy it. We appeal to the government to provide us with tubewells.
- Q. When you say tubewells would you use them for irrigation purposes?
- A. Yes, we would. But the primary purpose of tubewells is for drinking water.
- Q. There is an increasing tendency for unskilled labour to emigrate to work in Qatar, Dubai and Saudi Arabia. Have any people from your area gone to work in these countries?
- A. Yes, they have. From each village in this area 30 to 50 people have left to work overseas.
- Q. Do they send remittance from abroad, and if so have you noticed any changes in the general life of the area?
- A. Yes, due to this, things have improved. During previous governments people went abroad in large numbers, but now this has been restricted. I do not know who is responsible for this.

INTERVIEWEE: NUR ZAMAN DISPENSARY IN CHARGE NURAR,

DISTRICT BANNU

Q. What do you do in this village?

A. I am in charge of the dispensary. My working hours during winter are from 7.30 a.m. until 12.30 p.m., and for dealing with emergencies, I have rented a private house for sixty rupees (£3 approximately) per month. The government has not provided me with accommodation.

Q. Is there a qualified doctor in this area, with say an MBBS?

A. No, only myself, and no doctors. I have some midwives under my supervision. They are all illiterate, and they cannot provide proper help for the women. We need one female health visitor for the area.

Q. Do you get patients from Mombati village?

A. Yes

Q. Do you get female patients?

A. Yes, thirty to forty per day.

Q. Where do you get the medicine from?

A. From the District Head-quarter Hospital Store. For example, Sulpha Dize, Aspirin and Multivitamins.

Q. How much do you prescribe and who receives it?

A. I only give medicine to poor people and up to 10 tablets in each case.

Q. What are the arrangements for the injured people in emergencies?

A. I provide first aid, stitching etc., and they are then rushed to Bannu hospital.

INTERVIEWEE: D.S.P. SADDAR Deputy Superintendant Police  
Saddar Bannu

Q. Is the crime rate increasing in Bannu?

A. Yes.

Q. What are your suggestions for controlling or dealing with the increasing crimes in the Bannu area?

A. There is no such information centre to tell people about the abuses of drugs, burglaries etc.

Q. Do you think that due to fewer work opportunities these people commit crimes?

A. This is not true. These are professional criminals.

Q. Are there many traffic accidents and who is responsible for them?

A. These accidents are due to buses pouring into the city centre from almost all sides to the individual bus stands which is really a backward thing in itself. It would be better if there were a combined bus stand. Also the majority of people are not educated or traffic conscious.

INTERVIEWEE: TRAFFIC OFFICER, BANNU

Q. What is the total vehicle registration at present in Bannu?

A. 11336

Q. What types of vehicles are they?

A. Bedford trucks, Bedford buses, Datsun, Suzuki, motorcycles.

INTERVIEWEE: ZAHEERUD DIN Arms Dealer in Bannu

Q. How long have you been in this business?

A. Since 1977.

Q. What is the procedure involved in selling fire arms to the public?

A. The legal procedure starts with an issue of an arms licence by the Deputy Commissioner Bannu to the person who goes there. I enter the arms number and keep a record of his licence in the sales register with his name, parentage and village address. After the sale a copy of the cash memo is sent to the Superintendent of Police in Bannu and one copy of the cash memo is kept on counterfile.

Q. How many arms and ammunition dealers are in Bannu?

A. Until 1977 there were only 5 or 6, and now the number of shops has gone up to 45 or 50.

Q. What is the reason behind such a tremendous increase?

A. 1) The first factor is the kind Deputy Commissioner. He issues licences to everyone who requests them.

2) Safety reasons; the area has not been provided with any security of life or property and people are managing to guarantee their safety through the use of guns etc.

3) Profit in the business is high.

Q. Are there any arms factories in Bannu area?

A. No there are not. Only one repair workshop is in this area. The government is reluctant to issue such factory licences in this area. There are a few interested people around but they are always discouraged.

Q. Which type of cartridges do you sell?

A. SG, LG and No.4 and No.6 for game only.

Q. Which type of game is carried in Bannu?

A. It varies from season to season. Nowadays there are eleye, Dabare, Batere, Quils, Titan, Pheasants, Shamoï, and Kantare pigeons.

INTERVIEWEE: SHEROZE KHAN A farmer

Q. How do you prepare your land?

A. In the old agricultural way with two bulls and a 'hal'.

Q. What measures to you take when animals are sick?

A. We contact animal husbandry staff, but they do not help you until and unless you give them money. In this way they are not as helpful as they should be. They visit the village once

a year. They get paid by the government, and take money from the farmers.

Q. Where do you do your daily shopping?

A. We go to Bannu Bazaar, because things are less expensive than in village shops. We go to Bannu almost every day which is 5 miles away.

Q. How do you go to Bannu?

A. In Datsun wagons and tanga, which is used rarely now.

Q. Do you get any benefit from the nearby canal.

A. Yes, if we get the supply of water we can grow tomatoes, garlic, moth, lowar, rice and wheat. This canal was primarily constructed for the Mirian area, but when Sarwar Jan came he named it as Marwat Canal and it is used only for the irrigation of Marwat land. Recently, the supply was cut to our area and water went through to Marwat area. People of this area are crying. They went to the Deputy Commission and Executive (Chiefs of 4 villages), but their reply was to increase the supply of irrigation water to Marwat area. It is a matter of policy (Ghutta), but our demand is that our share of water shall be earmarked.

Q. Have you approached any court regarding this injustice?

A. We have registered a case against the Government and have won it.

Q. How many houses are in this village?

A. About 250. But people migrated 50-60 years ago due to drought, and now they are coming back due to improved conditions. The village is not yet full but is about to become occupied.

INTERVIEWEE: A Village Blacksmith/Carpenter

Q. How did you provide services for the farmers?

A. It was not a paid job. We were paid through 'Aiza' when we provided repairs for agricultural implements like hooks, yim etc. But if farmers engaged us for construction of rooms or houses then 'Aiza' was no longer observed and we got paid in cash for our services. After independence, this 'Aiza' disappeared too and cash dealing started. We were four brothers in this work and I was happier in the old system of Aiza than in the new system of payment. Aiza was given to me by counting the houses, and I used to extend this service to ten villages and the total houses under Aiza were more than 600.

Q. How big is your house?

A. It has six rooms.

Q. How is a "Hamsaya" accommodated in the village?

A. He usually gets one room and sometimes one for the cattle.

Q. Normally, how many rooms are needed in the village house.

A. A guest room, sleeping room, cattle room, grain storage room, Alghari (kitchen), and chichraybiay (bathroom).

Q. What are the obligations for a Hamsaya in a Bannuchi village?

A. He has to cultivate the land of the Zamindar and provide some personal service for the Zamindar's family. But this system is gradually ending and the Hamsaya is no longer under the authority of a Zamindar. But in return, the Hamsaya is a

Q. Are you in favour of nationalization of gold in Pakistan?

A. No, I am not in favour of this. Many people will lose their jobs and few people will benefit. I can see a huge quantity will be smuggled out of the country before it reaches the hands of the government. Therefore, a few people will get huge earnings through the black market.



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